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A Journal of Opinion

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Victory in Europe

THE VICTORY was a magnificent achievement, concerning which the Allied nations have a right to be proud. It demanded foresight, dedication, sacrifice. On the part of Americans in particular, the organization and expenditure of the necessary effort required an imaginative appreciation of larger issues which was not reinforced by the near approach of the enemy to our homes, or by any dramatization of peril like that which comes from raiding bombers or long-range guns. We all may legitimately express a certain measure of elation.

It is trite to point out that the job is not finished, and that consequently we are in no position to allow enthusiastic relief to run away with sober behavior. Japan has still to be subdued. Even in Europe the tasks of reconstruction, in many ways more puzzling and difficult even than those of war, are barely begun. And there must be dedication to the task of organizing the world so that it never can happen again, so that those who gave more than can ever be repaid, and the many who did not even live to share the triumph, shall not have offered their sacrifices in vain.

All this, however, does not even begin to reveal the significance of the world's bitter experience. Under all these resolutions still lies the assumption that though the task is not finished yet, it may be finished within a few months or at most a few years. Having concentrated our energies to achieve a few major concrete goals, we can, it is often supposed, rest with the assurance that the invaders have been repelled, the damage repaired and ramparts built against any repetition of the misfortune. We can then relax our effort and our common striving, and return to a way of life which was rudely interrupted by something outside ourselves.

This assumption is a fatal error, and if it prevails in the end, no victories of this year or next will suffice to make a much better world. The task will never be finished, and final triumph will never come. There is no utopia awaiting us around the corner. Continual exercise of imagination and coöperative endeavor will be necessary to reduce to a minimum the disappointments and misfortunes that are certain to threaten the inhabitants of an imperfect world. To mention only a few of the truths that are obvious to the thoughtful: the Germans have no monopoly of fascism; the roots of barbarity and violent aggressiveness are in all human beings and may rise to the surface under appropriate circumstances; man is never born perfect, and what he makes of his society is as much a matter of his training and experience as of his primal impulses. The environment provided by civilization must therefore be continually adapted and improved if calamities are to be avoided.

These are great matters, too little understood in detail. In order to learn and apply the principles

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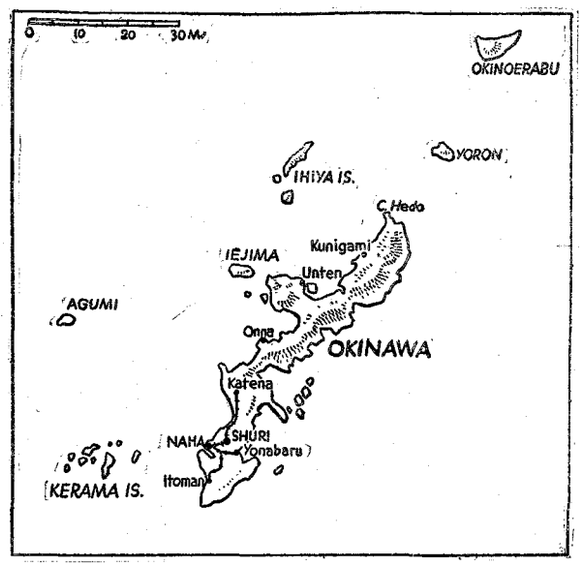
which we need in order to guide human affairs more creatively, we cannot fall back wholly upon the body of knowledge and practice which has left us so vulnerable in the past. Even more earnest effort must be applied to the research and discovery which may illuminate better ways of living together than has recently been devoted to the improvement of instruments of destruction. From war to war we observe that the last word in its science and art is never spoken; he who brings to the field the latest and best, in the greatest quantity, will prevail. It is equally true that the last word in the arts of peace is never spoken; we are begging for defeat if we rely on old fables or dogmas and do not apply to our problems the same respect for developing facts and the same objective assessment of results which military leaders must employ to overcome a dangerous enemy.

Are we, for instance, any less unprepared for the coming peace than we were for the war? Is any larger proportion of our population ready to admit that the habits of the past will not be sufficient to safeguard the future? We are somewhat more ready for the technical details of reconverting industry, but to what are we going to reconvert our society? Are we preparing merely a more planful way of seeking the present-day version of Harding "normalcy"? Shall we repeat the old pattern of inflation and depression, and vainly struggle again, by means of inadequate policies and instruments, to keep people busy producing what they need and could make if they had employment? This is to mention only one aspect of the problem, but a most important one. If we do not at least tackle this subject with the same energy and dedication which we have devoted to war, victory in Europe is likely to go down with all the great military victories of the past which, however glorious and however costly, did not in the long run appreciably lessen the sum of human misery.



The Tough Nut

There are only 14 miles at the southern tip of Okinawa still untaken; but correspondents have been allowed to print estimates of the time needed to conquer them running from a minimum of 40 days to a maximum of 90. In a little over a month since the landing, 24 ships have been reported sunk off the island, mostly by suicide bombers and motorboats; even 40 days more of this would make Okinawa more expensive than Guadalcanal.

Military Review

THERE is a considerable mass of evidence that while the last stages of the conquest of the Reich proved easier than most military men dared to anticipate, the first operation against the inner fortress of Japan has succeeded so badly as to make almost imperative a recasting of methods before further assaults. The 27th Division, after some of that fulsome official praise which is considered elevating to the morale of formations that have been severely beaten up, was taken out of the line on Okinawa; and the 77th and the Marines, which had just done some rough campaigning of their own, were put in without a rest period. On May 4 a determined Kamikaze attack sank five "light ships" off the island. (The units were not specified, but the wording of the communiqué is slightly ominous—a cruiser is a light ship in naval terminology.) The planes from the escort carrier, whose normal duty is support of troops ashore, spent a whole week working on airfields in the Sakishima group; and the B-29's have now abandoned for something like a month their task of erasing Japanese industry, to act as tactical bombers against the fields in the Kurile chain—a task, incidentally, for which they are not very well suited. A casualty announcement set the Japanese dead on the island at 33,642 as against 14,283 in our Tenth Army, but a CBS correspondent said the Navy offshore had lost as many more. The ground gained on the island since the main Japanese resistance line was reached a month ago is something less than four miles.

The most important item in this compilation is, of course, the distraction of the B-29's from their primary objective. When a major strategic plan has to be altered or delayed, the defense can be called successful within its own terms. The method is clear enough: to hold the most tenable section of any island with one of those systems of caves and tunnels which no one has yet found a quick method of demolishing; and while the fleet is held in the offing by the necessity of supporting a conquest not yet complete, to attack it by means of suicide squads from air and sea. Even when a hit ship is not sunk, it has to go back to the States for repairs and is out of action for a long time. Naturally, there are no data on the number of ships hit, but the number sunk in the Okinawa campaign has been stated at 24, and modern damage-control methods being as efficient as they are, it is possible to deduce

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that this figure represents a fairly small proportion of the total number struck.

Stated in military terms the Japanese method comes down to a straight defensive against the enemy's main attack, with a counter-attack against his means of transport and communication—in this case, ships. This is sound strategic practice, but it may be noted that the detail in which it has been worked out rests entirely upon the willingness of the Japanese fighting man to accept suicide, whether he is an infantryman in the defense, an aviator or a sailor in the counter-attack. The Japanese infantryman was always pretty much this way, but it is a comparatively new thing among the others, and the development of the Kamikaze spirit evidently represents the success of a propaganda campaign on the Japanese home front. The inference is obviously that breaking down their defensive system lies as much within the domain of our propaganda and psychological-warfare services as it does within that of the tacticians. It is not easy to say just how we could reach the Japs with a counter-propaganda, or what we could say to them; but it is not easy either for anyone on the outside to say how the strictly military problem should be solved, and V-J demands both solutions.

In a remarkable interview with his captors, von Rundstedt threw out the idea that the Germans lost the war when they failed to try an invasion of England in 1940. He was inclined to doubt whether the attempt would have succeeded in view of Germany's shortage of warships. The view throws a good deal of light on the inspirational strategy of the late Führer. It was one of his inspirations that sent the Nazis into Norway. They gained a great victory from it and a series of submarine bases from which they long troubled the Atlantic; but they spent their navy in doing it. The German fleet was never again able to act as a fleet after it lost most of its destroyers in the Norwegian campaign, and it was precisely this destroyer shortage that von Rundstedt was talking about.

In fact, the whole inspirational strategy of Adolf Hitler, who liked to describe himself as a soldier rather than a politician, comes down to making military decisions on political grounds—never more clearly than in the last act, when in a final burst of inspiration, the Nazis decided to surrender to the Western Allies, while resisting the Russians to the last. They were doubtless encouraged to it in this case by the ruthless efficiency of the Soviet occupation forces and the incompetence of the AMG. But the thing Germans can never believe is that anyone else can foresee or figure out what they are trying to do.

A Man Disappears

There has been much speculation since the announcement of Hitler's alleged death whether he really died or whether he may have gone underground. However stimulating this sort of speculation may be, it does not alter the fact that, even if he were alive, Hitler's political days are numbered once and for all. Hitler, perhaps more than any other political figure of modern times, was the product of a series of circumstances which made his rise to power possible. He probably would never have come to be Chancellor of the Reich had it not been for the detrimental effect of the depression on the morale of the German people. If Germany had enjoyed economic prosperity throughout the period of the Weimar Republic, a man like Hitler would have remained an insignificant crackpot, and his party would never have won more than a small vote at the polls. Even if Hitler were still alive, the prospect of a long occupation of the Reich by the Allies is in itself a sufficient guarantee against a comeback in the foreseeable future. Moreover, there is enough evidence that his disastrous policies have so discredited him in the eyes of the German people that he may well be counted, even if he is alive, among the politically dead.

Industrialists Remain

After the last war a well known German writer wrote a novel, *The Kaiser Goes, The Generals Remain.* While there is a good chance that at the end of the present war the German General Staff and other high-ranking officers will be eliminated as war criminals from German's political scene, there is an equally good chance for their co-conspirators, the industrialists, to remain. While many of this latter group may not have aided the Nazi Party directly in its conquest of power, or in the Nazi atrocities perpetrated in the course of the war, there are a number of big industrialists whose actions in this respect should receive close scrutiny and possibly severe punishment. Some of these men have excellent contacts abroad, especially in this country and Great Britain. There is a real danger that they may use these contacts with foreign industrial and financial interests to save their own skins. Even if German heavy industry is placed under international controls, these men may well stage a comeback, if not in their own right, then as the managerial stooges of Anglo-American international cartel monopolism. Such a development would not only endanger the possibility of democracy in Germany, but would also directly injure the best interests of the people of the United States and Great Britain.

Political Changes in France

Recent events suggest that significant changes may take place soon in French politics. It is still too early to assess what effect the municipal elections will have on the de Gaulle government. It may well be that once the second ballot has been counted, the trend to the Left may increase and lead to governmental reorganization. Moreover, a number of prominent prewar pol-

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iticians, now liberated from the Germans, may reënter French politics and thus contribute to bringing about such a change. Among these are Léon Blum, the revered leader of the French Socialists, whose record has remained untarnished. Also liberated has been Léon Jouhaux, the former head of the General Confederation of Labor, whose political strength should not be underestimated. While former leaders of the middle-class Radical Socialists—like ex-Premiers Edouard Daladier and Paul Reynaud—will probably not be taken back by their party so wholeheartedly as they might wish, it is likely that Edouard Herriot will resume at least the honorary leadership of his party. All of these men were involved in the defeat of France, but they, like the French people, may have learned many political lessons during their captivity. If France should resume the trend toward the Left in the next few months, she may well establish herself as the leader of the nations of Western Europe, where this trend is now steadily becoming more noticeable from day to day.

Trieste—Whose City?

The Allies have taken Trieste from the Germans. Before the war it belonged to Italy; before the First World War it belonged to Austria. Yugoslavs, who were freed from the Austrian Empire in 1919, are now using arms to take over the city, in order to validate their belief that it belongs to them. The Italians don't want to give it up. Who is right?

The answer is that both Italians and Yugoslavs are right. The city is inhabited mainly by persons of Italian nationality. It is part of the Adriatic littoral which is important for Italian trade and strategic safety. It is also, however, the chief port of exit and entry for trade with Yugoslavia and the interior. Yugoslavs feel about it much as citizens of the United States might have felt if New Orleans had remained in possession of France or New York in possession of the Netherlands.

This is only one of many cases of which no satisfactory decision may be reached by drawing a national boundary, no matter where it is placed. As long as political and economic nationalism is in the ascendancy, any settlement will be unjust to someone. The only true solution is to proceed as rapidly as possible to make the problem disappear by rendering national boundaries of small importance. The citizenship and economic fortunes of Europeans should be as far as possible held in common.

President Truman's First Veto

President Truman's first veto message to Congress was a strongly worded refusal of "special privilege" for the farm bloc. He returned without approval a resolution to allow blanket deferment of farm workers because he said he could not believe that it was the real intent of Congress to "single out one special class of our citizens, the agricultural group, and put it on a plane above both industrial occupation and military service." That, the President added, would be a departure from the principle of the Selective Service Act which provides against placing anyone in a favored position, "safeguarded from the hazards of war," because of his economic or occupational status.

The House vote sustained the veto 185-177, far short of the two-thirds majority necessary to override it. Only 30 Democrats voted to override the veto. Many House members who joined with reactionary Republicans against President Roosevelt in recent years refrained from opposing President Truman on this test vote, principally as a show of party regularity. This first showdown in the House must be interpreted as a real victory for President Truman. But whether or not his accession has caused a real split in the "Unholy Alliance" will have to be judged by the future.

People in the Limelight: David Lilienthal

President Truman has renominated David Lilienthal for another six-year term as chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority. In so doing, he undoubtedly has the approval of the vast majority of Americans throughout the country, but particularly of those who live in the Tennessee Valley itself—for they know best what the TVA under Lilienthal has done to help them and their region. Flood control and soil conservation have gone along with the development of electric power and the increase of navigation. The TVA Board has done these jobs outside of the patronage system and has therefore made some powerful enemies in Washington and in the Valley, chief among them being Senator Kenneth McKellar. Senator Lister Hill of Alabama and the former Senator from Missouri, Harry Truman, are two notable exceptions. Now that the President has called McKellar's bluff and reappointed Lilienthal in spite of his threats, there is little that McKellar can do.

The original TVA act of 1933 was a remarkable law with greater potentialities than perhaps even its sponsors understood. If those appointed to administer it had been technicians, dam-builders and power-rate specialists, the TVA would be very different from what it is today. The people of the Valley feel that the TVA really belongs to them, and when the McKellar gang attacks, they mobilize for their own defense without prodding. Lilianthal's administration follows the clear line that it is up to Congress to decide the major policies for the TVA but that day-by-day management decisions are just as definitely left up to the Board. In the long run, perhaps Lilienthal's major contribution will be, as President Roosevelt wrote just before he died, that "he has shown us how big government can be carried on close to the people."

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Dumbarton Oaks Amendments

IN THE COURSE of the first two weeks of the San Francisco Conference it became clear that those who had expected the Dumbarton Oaks plan to be accepted without any textual changes had been mistaken. Many amendments to the original draft had been submitted by the small nations. They expressed apprehension that the future United Nations Organization might be used by the big powers as a coercive institution without proper regard for the national interests of the smaller states. Whether or not the 22 amendments now submitted to the Conference by the Big Four in agreement, and by the United States and the British delegations separately, will overcome previous criticisms, remains to be seen.

In some of the amendments now submitted by the Big Four we see much good and little harm. One—that a constitutional convention be held subsequently to revise the Charter as accepted at San Francisco—would permit mature consideration of possibly desirable changes. On the other hand, the provision that any one of the permanent members of the Security Council may veto such changes, reëmphasizes the basic principle on which the new world organization seems to be built—that the maintenance of peace is the major responsibility of the big powers.

Another amendment—that recommendations may be made by the Assembly to remove conditions that might lead to war—is not only a safeguard against possible inertia on the part of the Security Council, but also a recognition of the old international-law principle of *rebus sic stantibus*, which assumes that a treaty can be revised if and when the material conditions underlying it have changed. Russia was first opposed to this amendment because it might aid the defeated powers to evade their responsibilities under the peace treaties. But this fear, it seems to us, would be justified only if disagreement among the victorious powers should result in their unwillingness to enforce the peace treaties.

This amendment is closely connected with another supplementing the provision for regional security systems. The original draft provided that "no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council." It was held that this provision would hamstring a regional arrangement such as the inter-American, incorporated in the Act of Chapultepec. Russia, moreover, which has concluded a series of bilateral pacts with other nations, including France, proposed therefore that Soviet alliances be permitted to operate without prior authorization from the Security Council. Had this proposal prevailed, it is obvious that its acceptance would have completely emasculated the powers of the Security Council and in effect threatened the very existence of an effective world organization. To avoid this dilemma, the United States, British and Chinese delegations submitted a compromise formula which, while upholding the original principle, excepts measures directed against present enemy states, at least until the new world security organization has the strength and receives specific responsibility for dealing directly with further aggression by such enemy states.

Questionable, however, is a further amendment, submitted by the Big Four, that there are certain matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a state which should not come within the jurisdiction of the new international organization. Although this amendment should not prejudice the power of the Security Council to determine threats to peace or acts of aggression, its acceptance will open up serious loopholes which may embarrass the world security organization. For instance, it raises the question of what position the United Nations Organization should take in the case of civil war in any particular country. It may be extremely difficult to determine whether a civil war threatens international peace. Should the international organization remain neutral or intervene? If the last few years have taught us anything, it is that civil wars may easily lead to international complications, even though they may seem to be of strictly national interest at the outbreak. Another matter that comes to mind is the protection of national, racial and religious minorities. Although some of the new amendments to the purposes of the United Nations Organization demand friendly relations between states without distinction of "race, language, religion or sex," the persecution of minorities is not necessarily ruled out and may, as it often has in the past, lead to international friction.

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Outlook from Fujiyama

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Should the world security organization be prevented from intervening in what may readily be construed as a purely national affair? We doubt it, and we feel that this amendment needs detailed clarification.

The majority of the amendments, too many to be enumerated here in detail, deal with justice as the basis of the new world organization, the development of international law, fundamental rights of states, human rights, procedural matters, economic and social questions, and representation of small nations on the Security Council. They were mainly the result of pressure brought on the Big Four by the small nations and by individual pressure groups.

Finally, all four big powers have expressed their willingness to sponsor the proposal of a separate committee of jurists for the incorporation of the old Court of International Justice into the United Nations Organization after its statute has been revised. This proposal makes sense. The old Court did its job well, and there is little need for a new one. Although it is not quite clear yet whether decisions of the Court are enforceable by the United Nations Organization, we feel that this is not so much a matter of statutory formalities as one of living politics. Ultimately, like all the other functions of the world security organization, the relationship between the international court and the parties appearing before it as litigants depends primarily on the willingness of the member nations to abide by the Court's decisions rather than on sanctions and force.

The Question of Trusteeships

ON NO ISSUE will the good will of the great powers be tested more severely than on the question of how to dispose of so-called colonial and "backward" areas, especially those strategic territories which belonged to enemy nations. The United States delegation in San Francisco has prepared a program for trusteeships which would divide these areas into two classes. Those of strategic importance to a big power would be placed under general supervision by the Security Council of the United Nations Organization, while other areas, including non-strategic portions of such territory as has military bases, would be put under the Assembly. Apparently it is felt that this plan would reconcile the interests of single powers in certain military areas with the joint trusteeship of non-military territories. By providing for both types of administration, the big powers would be free to use and control strictly limited strategic areas.

Although it has been said that no specific areas would be discussed in this connection at San Francisco, it is difficult to see how the discussion on trusteeships is possible in a vacuum. The old League of Nations mandates, and areas taken from the enemy in this war, will certainly have to be considered. Opposition to the American plan, specifically in regard to Japanese island holdings in the Pacific, has already been voiced by a Senate Naval Affairs Subcommittee. The subcommittee has demanded full American postwar control over all strategically important Pacific islands now legally belonging to Japan, and disapproved any plan, such as the American, which would give to other major powers a veto over the question of what Japanese islands this country should control in the Pacific.

Opposition to the American plan has also come, for different reasons, from the British. Three considerations are advanced against the distinction between strategic and non-strategic areas. First, the protection of native populations, as far as social and economic problems are concerned, is as necessary in strategic as in other areas. Second, in large territories no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between strategic and non-strategic areas. Acceptance of the American plan would remove from the purview of the trusteeship council many of the matters for which the trusteeship system is primarily designed. Third, it is desirable that the mandatory power should be permitted to mobilize the war potential of all trusteeships, strategic and non-strategic, as well as of its colonies, as part of its contribution to the maintenance of peace, provided that the military policy of all states conforms with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations Organization.

The British proposal, it seems to us, is in principle better than the obvious compromise formula inherent in the American plan. We feel that the matter of trusteeships is much too important to serve as a bait to appease the "American-Century-minded" gentlemen of the United States Senate. The British plan makes impossible the charge of outright annexation or infringement of the Atlantic Charter. It also states unequivocally that the trustee system will contribute to international peace and security by permitting use both of strategic areas and of material resources in the mandated territories.

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Golden Gate Round-Up

"IT'S THE RUSSIAN V-2," said a newspaperman when Secretary Stettinius released the news that Russia had arrested 16 non-Communist Polish political leaders. And indeed the effect on the crowded press conference was a little like that of a rocket bomb. Mr. Stettinius himself seemed laboring under strong emotion and the questions asked him by the press and radio men suggested the same thing.

There is no doubt that the news was a bad blow to the conference. Technically it had little to do with what is happening at San Francisco; morally, as a test of good faith and willingness to coöperate, it had a great deal to do with it. Undoubtedly the case is not so bad as it seemed in the first shock of the terse announcement. Some of the 16 arrested men were certainly of dubious loyalty to democratic principles, to say the least. The charges the Russians make against them of sabotaging the Red Army are so serious it is hard to believe they could be made without substantial proof. Yet the questions remain: Why the long delay in announcing the arrests? Why was the announcement finally made at the moment it was? Did the Russians feel the conference had gone far enough so that they could now safely spring the news without upsetting the apple cart?

If so, they are undoubtedly correct. The conference will of course go on. However much the atmosphere may have worsened, the Western powers need Russia too much and she needs them too much, for any complete rupture of relations. We need Russia in the Pacific phase of the war, either as a fighting ally or to help arrange peace terms with defeated Japan. Russia needs American help in the task of postwar reconstruction. The incident shows again how hard it is for the Western world to get along with Russia, which simply doesn't understand either the principles or the practices of our democracy. But this is certainly no reason for us to turn our backs on her, and drive her still deeper into isolation. It is, on the contrary, a fresh proof of how necessary is the sort of world organization which is painfully being hammered out here in San Francisco.

It is my guess that the thing you must remember about Russia at San Francisco is the Russian civil war of 1919. That was called a civil war by courtesy only; in fact, the United States sent troops to Archangel and into Siberia who threatened if they did not shoot; and the United States, Great Britain and France financed, equipped and otherwise aided the counter-revolutionary armies of Denikin, Wrangel, Judenich, Kolchak *et al.* That war meant as much to the Russian Communists, when they had won it, as our American Civil War meant to us. Even today, 80 years later, down South they are still talking about the Yankee invaders; the Russians came to San Francisco with no shorter memories. They defeated us in the field 25 years ago; they played a great part in defeating the fascists for us this time (we should quite possibly have lost the war if Hitler had not chosen to fight on two fronts). Therefore, the Russians want every last ounce of respect and equality to which they are entitled. No more: but no less.

What about the three Russian votes in the Assembly? Clearly it is a mistake to think of Russia as a monolith. Stalin, also, has powerful internal pressures to consider and conciliate. The USSR is far more an actual federation of independent states than most Americans recognize, and this tendency has been accelerated in recent years. Both White Russia and the Ukraine have had separatist movements in the past and might conceivably have them again; many Ukrainians fought on the German side in this war, being disaffected because of resentment about Moscow's harsh policy of land nationalization and especially the policy toward the Ukraine in the famine of 1933. When Stalin told Roosevelt at Yalta, "You are lucky I can keep it down to three votes," he wasn't entirely joking. And neither was he joking when he kept asking, "Tell me again just how many of those Latin American republics there are?" It is quite true that in most international affairs the United States can count on, if not 20 Latin American votes, at least 15 or so. The American isolationists at San Francisco keep chanting "Six (for Great Britain), three and one." They might as well or better say, "Six, three and twenty." Certainly the case for the Ukraine and White Russia is as good as the case for India and not much weaker than the case for the Philippines.

What about Argentina? The Russians knew in advance they were defeated on Argentina; they spoke—and spoke well, in my opinion—for the pages of history. Here was one case where the Big Three did not run things. Argentina was admitted by the pressure of the other Latin American republics, exerted, not at San Francisco but months earlier at Chapultepec. The United States did not want her; Great Britain did not care particularly one way or the other; the Russians were opposed to letting a fascist government sit with the United Nations, though they accepted the final results of the bargain under which Argentina's entrance was traded off for that of the Ukraine and White Russia. It was at Mexico City that the conditions were laid down with which Argentina found it so comically easy to comply: accept the Act of Chapultepec and go to war with the Axis.

Why did the Latin American republics, most of which are anti-fascist, fight hard for Argentina both at

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Mexico City and San Francisco? The answer is a complicated one in which the long-time fear and distrust of the United States is a factor. The Latin Americans have been trained for many decades to stand together against "Yankee imperialism." When they feel United States pressure—and we have pressed Argentina hard—their impulse is to unite and oppose us. There are also economic and cultural ties with Argentina which are important. And finally, some of them really believe—as certain American officials do—that we shall overthrow fascism more quickly in Argentina by bringing her into the fold than by keeping her out. Chapultepec even gives us a leverage which did not previously exist, for asking the Argentine government whether it is in fact living up to its promises of democracy, a leverage we did not have before it signed the act. I do not endorse this argument, I just report it.

What about Japan and Russia? Did Stalin promise Roosevelt at Yalta that Russia would go to war with Japan as soon as Germany surrendered? I don't know, and I don't know anyone who does. There are stories here in San Francisco that Japan has been urgently suing for peace for the past month or more. Russia, according to these stories, is to stay out of the war for several months in order to act as go-between for a peace which will in fact be unconditional surrender but will be dressed up to look a little otherwise. (Unconditional surrender was in any case a mere device to reassure the Allies that none of them would make a separate peace; it is no longer needed for that purpose.) The terms Japan would get would be the Cairo terms in essence: loss of all her continental possessions and her empire, military occupation, heavy reparations, reformation of her government. If she balked, she would be told Russia would come into the war at once and she would be smashed in short order. (For that matter, the United States Navy thinks it can destroy Japan with no help except an assist from the Army.)

The disclosure about the arrested Poles is the more regrettable because it shadows the excellent record the Russians had otherwise made. Molotov's was the only voice firmly raised against the Argentine fascists (though Greece, Belgium, Norway, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and New Zealand voted to delay the matter a few days, as he reasonably requested, and Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece voted with Russia to keep Argentina out). Mr. Molotov's was the only voice raised to let the World Trade Union Conference be held at San Francisco. The executive committee of this conference has been in session at Oakland, across the bay, almost ignored by the local press and completely so by the delegates to the big show. Yet the WTUC is the authentic voice, and the only authentic voice, of the world's toiling millions who fight the wars which are usually in the interest of somebody else, and then are left to see somebody else get the fruits of victory, if any.

Labor is not the only interest that is being shouldered aside. All sorts of other groups are in San Francisco, using this gathering as a sounding board despite the repeated admonitions that it is not a peace conference. India is here, in the person of both the brilliant and beautiful Mrs. Pandit, sister of Nehru, and half a dozen able Indian journalists who rise in every press conference to ask the Forbidden Question. The Negroes are here, seeking guarantees of better treatment in the African colonies, and a charter of human rights to protect them in these United States. The Jews are here, trying to establish the principle that when a Nazi kills a Jew it is murder, and also working on the old familiar problem of Palestine. Gerald L. K. Smith is reported on his way; and already some of his followers are here, handing out anti-Semitic propaganda.

The isolationist American press is of course having a field day over the arrest of the Polish leaders; but for that matter, the isolationist press has been having a field day with the conference anyhow. It has been doing its cheerful best to break up the gathering or, failing that, to prevent the United States Senate from ratifying the treaty which will eventually emerge. Whatever else may be said about freedom of the press in this country, certainly no other nation would so patiently tolerate such disruptive journalism.

Since I reported a week ago on the confusion and ineptitude with which the press and radio arrangements were conducted in the early days of the conference, it is only fair to add that there was substantial improvement by the end of the second week. Bulletin boards in the chief hotels informed the journalists of impending press conferences; a directory of the delegates and their chief aides was issued; the American delegation held better and more numerous conferences. The British, as usual, have done by far the best job of making contacts with reporters: unobtrusively they see to it that everybody knows Great Britain's attitude on everything of significance every day—and while they are at it, they obligingly throw in an admirably impartial summary of the news and opinion in every important American and British journal, available by 9 a.m. of the same morning.

If the British delegation is the most adroit, certainly the Australian is the most refreshing. In the recent unhappy Aviation Conference at Chicago it was Australia and New Zealand which presented a bold and sweeping plan for worldwide, publicly owned aviation facilities; so at San Francisco it has been the men from "Down Under" who have acted as the conscience of the Anglo-Saxon world. It was Australia which sensibly demanded that the Social and Economic Council be constituted at once and at once go to work on the multifarious and desperate problems by which Europe is confronted. Said one thoughtful American observer, "Australia talks the way the United States talked

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many years ago, and the way we ought to talk still. But nowadays we always sound, in these international conferences, old, tired and rich." The comment was not wholly fair—Vandenberg and Stassen, for example, do not sound that way—but there is something in it.

California's famous hospitality to strangers has gradually become evident as the conference has gone on. Muted at first by State Department orders, and because of the period of mourning for President Roosevelt, its native exuberance at last and inevitably begins to come to the fore. Delegates and journalists are being taken on trips to nearby beauty spots; naval and military shows are put on for them. I am the proud possessor of a card to the San Francisco Public Library and a police card entitling me to be punished if I violate any local law. This morning I got a free cornflower for my buttonhole. I am also the happy recipient of a gift from the California Fruit Association, consisting of a pint of Burgundy, two oranges, one lemon, six packages of raisins and a package of prunes. My journalistic honor having thus been tampered with, I hasten to say that California fruit is indeed delicious.

Seeing Senator Vandenberg in action at a press conference of the American delegation the other day, I felt the ghost of Woodrow Wilson enter the room. If Wilson had taken Senator Lodge with him to Paris, in all human probability the United States would have entered the League in 1920 and the whole course of history would have been different. The press conference was off the record, but it is legitimate for me to say that I shall be very much surprised if the final document drafted at San Francisco is so bad that Senator Vandenberg is forced to repudiate it and to advise his Republican colleagues in the Senate to do the same. The most brilliant diplomatic stroke of President Roosevelt's whole career was achieved when he persuaded Mr. Vandenberg to join the American delegation at San Francisco, and quite possibly the action may cast a good shadow forward for many years.

San Francisco BRUCE BLIVEN

Which Way Zionism?

Decisions behind the scenes are deciding the fate of Palestine. Churchill and the late President Roosevelt conferred with the Arabs following the Yalta conference; the Arab leaders proposed a "compromise" with the Jews; President Roosevelt assured the Jews that he still favored a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine; rumors came from Cairo and London of a partition plan for Palestine. Even to discover the alternatives is difficult. It looks as if Palestine is to become either a very small state or that the Jews will be asked to accept the status of a permanent minority. The Zionists have faced this dilemma before. This time the situation looks more crucial than ever.

Palestine has never had a stormier year than that between the terminal date of the White Paper on April 1, 1944, and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Allied decision at San Remo in 1920 to make Palestine a British mandate. The latter date coincided with the opening on April 25, 1945, of the San Francisco Conference, where the mandates may be discussed. The Arabs have delegates at the conference; the Jews have none. Zionists have been protesting the unfairness of this scheme of representation from the first announcement of the San Francisco gathering.

The Zionists are on the spot; there is no gainsaying that. They were put there by the Arab foreign ministers, meeting at Cairo in March. The Arab diplomats, it is reported, sent up a trial balloon in the guise of a proposal to admit 300,000 more Jews into Palestine, bringing the Jewish population up to about a million and hence to numerical parity with the existing Moslem group in Palestine. The balance of power would be held by some 150,000 Christian Arabs. This sounds good. After all, 300,000 Jews would represent an increase of some 40 percent over the present Jewish population of Palestine. And that at a time when the gates of Palestine, by the terms of the White Paper of 1939, are officially closed to Jewish immigration. The White Paper of 1939 provided for the entry of only 75,000 more Jews into Palestine in the ensuing five years; the Arabs seem to be four times as generous as the British Colonial Office.

Of course there were some doubts expressed concerning the genuineness of the Arab offer. Despite the fact that it was reported in a special dispatch to the New York *Times*, delegates to the Arab Congress meeting in Cairo characterized the report as "nonsense." The head of the Jewish Agency for Palestine denied the report. Most Zionist leaders in New York professed similar ignorance and skepticism. However, one of the most renowned and best informed, in a private conversation a week later, admitted that such a proposal had been made.

The genesis of the Arab proposal makes one realize that something like this was almost bound to come. The story is a complicated mixture of British imperialism and American politics, of Arab nationalism and Zionist aspirations.

The British are obviously interested in retaining control of the strategic oil centers of the Near East. If Russia is not to become dominant in those parts, Britain must retain the friendship of the 19 million

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Arabs. Therefore, Churchill has made no move to revoke the White Paper of 1939, though at the time of its publication he called it "a breach and repudiation" of Britain's mandatory obligations.

But power politics is not so simple as all that. Britain does not want to offend the Jews either; as a nation of imperialist merchants she must preserve a reputation for abiding by her pledged word. And finally, if the Arabs should get away from her, or if Egypt should decide to go her own way, Palestine in the hands of friendly Jews would be the strategic substitute, with harbors, air bases, an oil-line terminus, and even the possibility of building another canal, alternative to the Suez, from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea.

In times like these, English imperial problems are American problems as well. They are all the more so when American oil interests are anxious to keep on good terms with the Arabs, and when at the same time the five million Jews in the United States represent the largest bloc left intact in the world.

The position of the United States in these matters cannot be fully understood except in terms of the domestic political scene. Early in 1944, with the approach of the terminal date for Jewish immigration as set by the 1939 White Paper, Zionist influence succeeded in having a pro-Palestine resolution introduced into Congress, under the name of the Wright-Compton bill in the House, the Taft-Wagner bill in the Senate. These bills recommended: "That the United States . . . take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." On March 17, 1944, however, Secretary of War Stimson wrote to the House Foreign Affairs Committee: "It is the considered judgment of the War Department that without reference to the merits of these resolutions, further action on them at the time would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war." This military opinion quashed the resolutions, whose prospects for passage up until that time had been extremely promising.

The end of March came, and with it the end of Jewish immigration into Palestine, except for 30,000, who, on account of transportation difficulties, had been unable to use their immigration certificates. The Arabs were jubilant; the British pleased at their undisturbed relations with the Moslem world; the Jews disconsolate.

In America it was election year. During the summer both Republican and Democratic conventions inserted strong pro-Zionist planks into their platforms. As the date of the election approached, the War Department officially withdrew its objections to the idea of a congressional resolution. On October 15, President Roosevelt sent the annual convention of the Zionist Organization a message endorsing the pro-Zionist plank in the Democratic platform.

Encouraged by this, the sponsors of the pro-Zionist resolution once again introduced their measure into Congress. On November 30 it was approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The Senate committee was considering the resolution on December 11, when the Secretary of State intervened with a request that further action be halted on the ground that "the passage of the resolution at the present time would be unwise from the standpoint of the general international situation." After secret deliberations, the committee voted to abide by the request.

The State Department's warning may well have been an indirect reference to the situation in Palestine, complicated as it was by the assassination of Lord Moyne. The British Resident Minister for the Middle East had been murdered in Cairo on November 6 by two avowed terrorists from Palestine. Although condemned and excoriated by responsible Jewish and Zionist groups throughout the world, the act inevitably had unfavorable repercussions in high British circles. Churchill warned the people of Palestine that, should there be repetitions, he "would have to reconsider the position toward Zionism we have maintained so consistently and so long in the past."

Little wonder that the President and Churchill both had interviews with Arab leaders as they returned from Yalta. King Ibn Saud traveled out of Saudi-Arabia for the first time in his 64 years, and President Roosevelt told Congress that he learned more in his talk with the King about the problems of the Arabs and the Jews than he could have learned in the exchange of dozens of letters. Churchill, however, assured Parliament that the solution of the Palestine problem would not take place until after the war.

President Roosevelt's role in these approaches to the Palestine issue was undoubtedly a prominent one. To be sure, Senator Taft has expressed disbelief that the President told King Ibn Saud "that he and the United States favored the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine," as on March 16 he assured Rabbi Wise he had. But the President did not always take Taft into his confidence. There can be little doubt that President Roosevelt did suggest that something had to be done in the Arab-Jewish imbroglio and that the Arabs might best do it themselves. Otherwise it is hard to explain the crop of rumors and alleged proposals for the settlement of the Palestine question which appeared shortly thereafter in conjunction with the Cairo conference on Arab federation.

This leads to the problem of Arab nationalism. The conference at Cairo was preceded by a long history of efforts to bring the Arabs together. Anthony Eden gave the union his blessing as early as 1943. In the fall of 1944, representatives of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon,

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Trans-Jordan and Iraq worked out the agenda for the later steps toward the formation of a League of Arab States. Significantly, the Alexandrian protocol also recorded the petition of the assembled Arab representatives, that Britain should "maintain its engagement to restrict further Jewish immigration to Palestine and advance that country's independence."

The Crimean conference was held at approximately the same time as the Cairo conference of the Arabs. The post-Yalta conversations of President Roosevelt and Churchill with the Arab leaders came at the conclusion of these simultaneous parleys. Actually, since they began meeting at Cairo the Arabs have been conferring almost constantly, until they can now boast the existence of an actual League, with a full-fledged constitution of 22 articles and 9 protocols. Saudi Arabia has been drawn into the League, after Ibn Saud, the most anti-Zionist of all the Arab rulers, was assured of the "kingpin" position.

Paris newspapers, lately enjoying an unusual freedom from censorship, were the first to report the rumor that Anglo-American pressure was being applied to the Arabs on the Palestine question. On February 20 they carried the story that the "British authorities" had proposed to Arab leaders the establishment of a "Jewish-Christian state," to be composed of Jewish areas in Palestine merged with Lebanon. This plan was said to have the "strongest American endorsement." That could mean only one thing—the backing of President Roosevelt. The rest of Palestine, according to this proposal, was to be merged with a kingdom of Trans-Jordan, ruled as now by Emir Abdullah.

More smoke curled up from Cairo in the succeeding couple of weeks, until the English liberal weekly, the *New Statesman and Nation,* was moved to protest against any plan for the "rash drawing of boundaries," on the grounds that it would nullify the schemes for the irrigation and electrification of Palestine put forth by W. C. Lowdermilk, of the United States Department of Agriculture. A dispatch to the New York *Times* from Cairo on March 18 disclosed that one of the suggestions to the members of the conference of the League of Arab states was "the formation of a greater Syria, which would include part of Palestine, while another part would become a Jewish state, and Jerusalem would be an international zone."

In the light of these plans, it becomes much easier to understand the proposal put forward by the Arab foreign ministers. They would prefer to head off the creation of a Jewish state, however small, by offering to make Palestine a haven for 300,000 more Jews, while at the same time depending on the higher Moslem birth rate and the Christian Arab population already in Palestine to keep the Jews in a definite minority.

What will the Zionists do? One of their leaders has told me that he expects a "Jewish state" will be established "soon, though truncated." Apparently the Zionists are to be faced with the proposition of partition, as they were once before when the Peel Commission recommended such a solution in 1937.

An issue as momentous as this demands the widest possible public discussion. Secrecy should not prevail until some Big Three or Big Five comes out with a *fait accompli.* Above all, the wisdom of some of the great Jewish leaders of the past should not be disregarded. One of the greatest Zionists of this century was Mr. Justice Brandeis. His private papers, as yet not open to the public, are deposited in the University of Louisville, his native city. They contain many comments which sound as if they were directed to the present crisis.

When the Peel Commission recommended partition eight years ago, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, head of the World Zionist Organization, and David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, favored the move. They were opposed by strong American influences under the leadership of Rabbi Wise, speaking for Brandeis—the latter being particularly incensed at the idea of still further delimiting Palestine, already cut down by the separation of Trans-Jordan in 1922.

Brandeis listened carefully to those who favored partition. He had a long talk with David Ben Gurion, who contended that most of the Jews in Palestine favored the partition plan. When the Jewish Agency leader had finished his defense of partition, Brandeis told him that he thought his estimate of future events and conditions was probably not correct, and that his judgment had been diverted by the suffering of Eastern Europe and possibly by the fears of the Palestinian Jews. Therefore the thing to do, in Brandeis' estimation, was resolutely but tactfully to insist upon the fulfilment of the existing mandate—a task made more difficult by the mistakes of certain Zionist leaders.

The mistakes mentioned by Brandeis had been committed by Weizmann; this was an oblique reference to the acceptance of partition. Brandeis had never forgiven the British Zionist leader for his acceptance fifteen years before of the partition of Palestine by the cutting away of Trans-Jordan. He felt that any further diminution of the territory promised as part of the national homeland by the Balfour Declaration and the mandate would be criminal.

Brandeis put himself fully behind the Committee for an Undivided Palestine; he invested several thousand dollars in the work of fighting the partition plan. Among other things, he offered to pay the expenses of Lord Josiah Wedgwood, leading pro-Palestine member of Parliament, to come to the United States on an anti-partition speaking tour. He joined forces with the conservative American Jewish Committee—a marriage of convenience, since that committee was opposing the partition plan in order to avoid the establishment of a Jewish state.

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The crisis over partition continued as the investigating (Woodhead) commission pursued its labors in Palestine during 1938. This was the year of Munich, and shortly after the fateful September meeting in that city, Weizmann came to fear that Britain was on the verge of surrendering entirely to the Arabs as she had surrendered to Hitler. The whole mandate was in danger, he cabled, and American support was needed badly. He wanted the American voice heard through the Administration and the press.

The American voice was heard. Telegrams poured in to President Roosevelt and the State Department. Brandeis obtained an interview with the President (October 16, 1938) and found him in a friendlier mood toward Palestine than he had been earlier. Much to the satisfaction of Brandeis, the President was soon referring to Palestine as the essential place for the solution of the complicated Near Eastern problems.

We do not know as yet whether President Roosevelt made any representations in London, but when the Woodhead Commission reported, the death of partition was assured. Within a year, however, the White Paper of 1939 made its appearance. Brandeis was successful in getting the President to protest against this policy, but to no avail. In the meantime Brandeis refused to back an alternative suggestion reminiscent of the Magnes plan for "parity"; it proposed to restrict Jewish immigration to 50 percent of the Palestinian population. This might return some day as a plague to Zionism, he wrote, and he would have none of it.

Out of these actions of the past Zionists may find some counsel for the present. Faced with the usual dilemma of a small state or a greatly restricted immigration, they must formulate some general attitude. It will not be an easy decision to make. If they voluntarily accept some restriction of population or boundaries, they may never be able to regain the ground yielded by their own consent. The wisest course is probably for them to insist on the terms of the original mandate, and to let terms less than these be forced upon them rather than to consent to truncation of their commonwealth or limitation of their immigration opportunities.

JAMES MORGAN READ

Doctors, War and Medicine

WITH MORE than 30,000 doctors from civilian life now on active service in the army, two questions are preëminent: Will I have my practice left after the war? What changes in civilian medical practice are the legislators cooking up during my absence? The answers are usually given by the doctors themselves. Many expect to have no practice and anticipate socialized medicine, while others are not disturbed at this prospect.

As a member of the Army Medical Corps for nearly three years, I have been interested in observing the various reactions of medical officers to this problem of state medicine. During a previous twenty years in private practice I had repeatedly heard the wolf-wolf cry of socialized medicine, but nothing came of it. Now there are indications that we may expect something approaching the real thing. My opportunities for hearing the pros and cons have been ample because of the close association of medical men in the army, especially overseas, and it seems to me worth while to record the gist of these discussions.

At the outset, what do we understand by state or socialized medicine? Briefly, it may be defined as a system in which all medical service is provided by physicians hired by the state, available alike to everyone, and supported by taxation. It may be partial or complete—that is, either limited to certain income groups or covering all classes of society. Our county and state hospitals represent a limited form of state medicine. Likewise certain state medical schools with free clinics are in a sense an incomplete form of state medicine. What is referred to in the present discussions is an over-all system of state medicine.

Socialized medicine is in sharp contrast to the individual competitive practice to which most doctors have been accustomed. But army medicine, at the service of all army personnel, is really a form of state medicine under military control. Physicians with recent army experience have recognized the parallel, and consequently many have acquired a new attitude toward the problem of civilian state medicine.

To make clear to the lay reader the basis for these discussions, let us first glance at the set-up and operation of the army medical service, centered in the general hospitals. The whole organization is based on teamwork. When a soldier becomes ill, he reports to his unit surgeon or to the doctor at the out-patient dispensary. These doctors correspond to the general practitioners in civilian life. If the illness is a minor one, the doctor prescribes and the patient is asked to report again if necessary. If the examination reveals that the soldier is suffering from a serious illness, he is sent to the hospital. This may be a station or a general hospital. The more serious or puzzling diagnostic problems are either sent direct, or through a station, to a general hospital.

The general hospital is a larger unit equipped and staffed to diagnose and treat all classes of medical and surgical cases. The organization is divided into the coordinated services of medicine, surgery, laboratory,

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X-ray and dentistry. Let us take medicine. This is subdivided into five or six sections: General medicine, cardiology, neuropsychiatry, gastro-intestinal, communicable diseases, etc., each section in charge of a recognized specialist. Organizations comparable with it in civilian life are the first-class medical schools and a few large private group clinics where the cost to the patient of modest means is always a serious problem. Every soldier in the army who is ill gets thorough diagnostic study and treatment without charge; moreover, his pay goes on just as if he were well. Whenever indicated, he may have the benefit of every diagnostic procedure and the advice of every consultant on the staff, without regard to expense. He may remain in the hospital under the best of care until he has reached maximum improvement.

It has been my observation that the doctor's attitude toward the subject of state medicine is usually based on his temperament—conservative or liberal. The medical man is traditionally conservative. This is borne out by the fact that most of the doctors I have known are opposed to any change in time-honored methods of private practice, without being able to give any rational grounds for their position. The doctor's faith in things as they are may further find support in the fact that his day-to-day experience is individual rather than collective. Moreover, because of the exactions of medical practice, he has little time for general reading and has not been trained to a broad social outlook. Hence, any suggested departure from orthodox medical practice is apt to reflect a narrow personal viewpoint: rarely is the subject discussed from the point of view of what a proposed change may add to the common store of happiness.

Most of the objections to state medicine are expressd in the same shopworn phrases one hears outside the army: I won't have a lot of politicians telling me how to run my business; a doctor should be free to practise his profession where and how he pleases; I don't want to be a salaried clerk; socialized medicine would destroy all incentive; one needs competition to do one's best; socialized medicine prohibits free choice of a doctor, destroys the patient-physician relationship, etc.[1]

Once in a while I have heard a medical officer bold enough to defend state medicine against considerable opposition. And there seems to be an increasing number of defenders, especially among those who have served on the staff of an army general hospital. Only the other day I heard an officer in a group take the defense. I have given him the fictitious name of Major James Robinson. He began:

My experience in the army, after years in private practice, has opened my eyes to the fact that civilian medical practice is out of date. Its machinery creaks. It has become top-heavy with the weight of laboratories, private hospitals and high-powered specialists. There have been no important changes in its framework in a hundred years. Time was when the family doctor did everything in medicine, from delivering babies to setting broken bones. And he did a good job, considering the status of medical science at the time. With progress in medicine have come laboratory tests, no end; specialists in everything from fallen arches to falling hair; and now, hospitals rigged out like ritzy hotels. Result: half your patients in private practice can't afford the luxury of being sick. A serious illness for persons of moderate means is a calamity—they either go hopelessly into debt or they don't get the benefit of the all-out diagnostic study, consultations or treatment we are able to give without charge to soldiers in the army.

Objections filled the room at the conclusion of the speech. Sample reactions: What the hell are you talking about? The general hospital isn't the whole Medical Corps. Granted, first-rate medicine is done in the general hospitals, what about the small stations and field units? I know a first-rate internist who was assigned to teaching first-aid for six months; I know of one who was allowed to rot at a desk job. How can a doctor raise a family on an army salary? Who wants to stay in the army in peacetime?

Major Robinson replied: "I said general hospitals—let's stick to them. Certainly there are instances of seemingly wasted talent—charge them up to the war effort. As to the outlying army stations, we have doctor in civilian life too who are obliged to practise in isolated communities. Of course you can't get rich on an army salary, but you didn't choose medicine to make a fortune. My point is simply this: if the set-up of the army can furnish free medical service of the highest order to millions of soldiers, then it seems reasonable to expect that something approaching this ideal can be worked out in civilian practice."

"Jim, you're just an idealist," said one. "Sounds like a New Dealer," said another. "A person needs competition to keep him up to his best effort," someone volunteered.

"See here," the Major replied. "Competition among doctors is not a pretty picture, and you know it as well as I do. Would you be guided by the aphorisms of Hippocrates or the dicta of *Medical Economics*?[1] Better leave competition to go-getters in business. Competition for patients among professional men is absurd when you consider how little the lay public knows about the doctor's real ability. How many persons inquire about a doctor's background of education and training or of his colleagues' opinion of him? Unfortunately, they select a physician on such irrelevant grounds as his social graces, membership in their club

[1] Opinions here expressed are those heard in random contacts by the author and do not represent the official views of the War Department or the Army Medical Corps.

[1] *Medical Economics*, "The Business Magazine of the Medical Profession," is a kind of medical success magazine distributed free to 110,000 practitioners. It carries articles on how to win patients and is supported by numerous advertisements of proprietary medicines.

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or church, accidental contacts, a full waiting room, or because Mrs. Jones had him and liked his personality.

"This haphazard choice in most cases is without serious consequence because 90 percent of patients somehow get well under indifferent treatment. But of the rest, there may be one in which the correct diagnosis and treatment are a matter of life or death. Herein lies tragedy, for the popular doctor may be ill equipped to recognize the rare or unusual condition—the patient does not do well or dies, the public is none the wiser, and the popular doctor continues to make mistakes."

"That may all have been true a generation or so ago," someone objected, "but now educational standards have been raised and our medical schools are pretty much on the same high level. Besides we now have the national specialty boards and the professional colleges that require high standards and stiff examinations for election."

"Our medical schools, it is true, are now fairly standardized," Major Robinson replied, "but even so medicine is not static and the schools have no assurance that their graduates will keep abreast of progress. I agree, too, that the professional boards and colleges are doing good work, but they do not cover the general practitioner."

"What about incentive under a collective system like state medicine?" someone asked.

"I have just dealt with the incentive of competition for patients, so we can rule out the money motive as unworthy. If the incentive is toward an ideal of professional excellence, as it should be, the only form of state medicine with which we all have had experience, that of the army, as compared with private practice, offers the greater stimulus. The difference is in favor of the army type of practice because here you are judged by other medical officers who are in a better position than lay patients to assess your professional competence. In private practice, other physicians in your community are apt to be prejudiced in their opinion by the amount of work you refer to them in their specialties. And, furthermore, in the army, aren't you given a professional rating every six months by your chief of service, or your commanding officer, himself a physician? Your chief judges you by your year-round performance of professional duties. Your promotion is based on these ratings, not on your bridge game. The chief's own standing in the army depends on the quality of work done by the men in his organization. And what about the weekly staff meetings where you present your cases or discuss the work of others? Your personal pride in the excellence of your own performance and the respect of your fellow officers is your chief incentive in the Medical Corps."

"Well," someone said, "I can make five times as much in private practice as in the army, and give good service too."

"Compensation under civilian state medicine need not be limited to the army scale. Those of outstanding ability should probably be paid more. But as a matter of plain truth, one can have a comfortable living on what the army pays and retire on a fair old-age income. The average doctor in civilian life does no better. He may have a much larger gross income but his overhead is high and he saves very little."

There were mixed reactions to these last statements; some agreed, others dissented and cited incomes of $100,000 a year, single fees of $5,000 and $10,000.

Major Robinson again spoke up:

"Now consider this: You all have had scientific training. When by experiment you find something that doesn't work, you discard it—whatever succeeds, you keep. Why not apply the scientific attitude to the social side of medical practice? As I said before, if the army can make state medicine work and solve this problem of free medical service, I think it's about time the medical profession got busy with a similar plan of their own making and under their own supervision, lest the politicians beat them to it."

"From where I sit, Major," a captain said, "it looks as if the politicians are already on the job. What do you think of the Wagner bill for socialized medicine?"

"How many of you have read the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill?" the Major asked.

No one present had read the bill and most were but vaguely acquainted with its provisions. All were cognizant of the opposition of Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*.

"I suggest," continued Major Robinson, "that you read this proposed legislation and form your own opinions. It is not socialized medicine in the strict sense, but it does propose to make medical and hospital service available to all classes through a compulsory insurance plan. I won't go into details, but the scheme is in the right direction, although there are defects that need to be ironed out. If the medical profession continue their opposition instead of offering coöperation and constructive criticism, they will have only themselves to blame for deficiencies in the bill."

"How do you know that this bill will not be dominated by politicians?" someone asked.

"There is always the human element. Politics can be kept out if the medical profession show enough interest to keep the administration in their own hands."

"I think we are agreed on fundamentals, Major," a spokesman for the group said, and then summarized: "Our first point of agreement is that medicine as now practised requires radical changes to make it available to all the people. Second: Group practice is desirable in place of individual competition. And third: Any decided change in our present set-up should be made with the full coöperation of the medical profession, and the administration of any new scheme should remain in their control."

LT.-COL. R. A. KOCHER

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The OWI in Germany

As THE military campaign against Germany draws to a close, the question has been raised publicly as to how far the American propaganda campaign has proved effective in supplementing the powerful material arguments with psychological arguments undermining the German will to conquest and resistance.

A lively discussion was started by two editorials in the New York *Times* criticizing the methods of the OWI, on the ground that this agency had provided "too much propaganda material" and too little "factual material." Robert E. Sherwood and the director of the Overseas Branch of the OWI, Edward W. Barrett, answered the criticism by pointing out—in letters to the *Times*—that an overwhelming proportion of all OWI programs directed to Germany consisted of factual news reporting, which, it turns out, had little—or at least not enough—effect on the Germans.

Mr. Barrett cites convincing figures in support of his point. Out of a day's program time of 280 minutes of short-wave beams from New York directed to Germany, 203 minutes were devoted to spot-news bulletins, eye-witness reports from the front, etc., 46 minutes to commentaries based on the news and 33 minutes to music. "Roughly the same ratio," Mr. Barrett says, "exists in the leaflet operations over Germany undertaken by the OWI and the psychological-warfare detachments in the European theatre. . . . The airborne newspaper *Sternenbanner,* which was dropped on German cities by the Eighth Air Force in numbers up to four million copies per issue . . . was restricted to news stories, photographs and war maps." The OWI men in the field, Mr. Barrett concludes, "have acted on the view that the plain facts of the war, forcefully brought to the eyes and ears of the German public, would in the long run be more corrosive to Nazi morale than any amount of agitational propaganda."

While Mr. Barrett wants to reserve "a verdict as to the extent to which these efforts in various media have been effective," Mr. Sherwood, in utter discouragement, exclaims: "The German people believed the Hitler-Goebbels lies because they wanted to believe them; and for the same reason they refused to believe the truth when it was made available to them. . . . They have been so successfully desensitized that they are unable to recognize the most obvious facts."

The discussion is timely, and should not be considered as a retrospective appraisal of a now closing chapter of our propaganda war effort, but rather as a necessary clarification of the task ahead: the reformation of German minds. The relation between the purely military forces and the various propaganda and psychological-warfare agencies will gradually be reversed, the latter changing from auxiliary military instruments to a predominantly educational role, relying on the support of the armed forces of the victors.

It remains to be seen whether these agencies have drawn the necessary conclusions—from the failures as well as from the successes—of their experience in driving home the truth to the Germans mainly by means of facts. The discussion has not considered whether "facts" and "news" as categories have the same meaning for Germans that they have for Americans.

It appears to this writer, a long-time student of German "ideological" (in contrast to "logical") thinking, that it is a mistake to believe the Germans will accept facts as facts. The Germans, by history, tradition, habit and education, have never been trained to find their way through a jungle of often controversial facts and to draw their own conclusions from them. The average German, taught to stick to his own business and to leave world and state affairs to his "leaders," has always felt the need of someone who could explain and interpret facts and reality, the *Weltbild,* to him. Long before Hitler, German papers were read by the German citizen not with a desire to be informed through facts, but to get an interpretation of the situation from the editorials.

Facts really do not mean much to the Germans, who live in a world of unreality shaped in accordance with their wishful thinking, their "ideology." To them it is the "eternal values" that count. A lost war, as we have seen, can be easily transformed in their minds into a victorious war whose unfortunate outcome was just an "accident," while in the "deeper reality" Germany won the war. Defeat to them is not a basic "fact" but a passing accident which sooner or later will be corrected by the "deeper reality"—which, as they would point out, turned the "accidentally lost war" into a victorious peace.

Nazi education heightened this attitude by frustrating—under pain of punishment—every attempt at independent political thinking. According to Goebbels, news is what you make it, and Hitler's roar backed up by Himmler's Gestapo was for more than 12 years the only "fact" that counted to the people. Hitler knew the Germans and how to influence them. He acted according to his formula that "the receptivity of the great masses is very limited, their intelligence small, but their power of forgetting enormous." Another formula coined by Hitler shows the difference between the approach of the Nazi propaganda machine and the efforts of the OWI to upset it. The function of propaganda, Hitler says, "is not to make an objective study of the truth, in so far as it will be use-

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ful to the enemy, and then set it before the masses with academic fairness; its task is to promote its own cause, always and unflinchingly."

Hitler, we all have to admit, got away with these principles of influencing the German masses. This is the human material which we try to impress with our "academic fairness." So different an approach cannot bring about desirable results. Our fair presentation of facts appeals to a nonexistent sense of judgment and reason. We want the German people to appraise the significance of facts and news; they are unable to do so. We ourselves have to do it for them. We have to give them the analysis of facts, to point out their meaning, to draw the logical conclusions and then present them in terms which will have to take into consideration the totally different intellectual training of the Germans under—and even before—Hitler.

Let us remember that German minds are particularly receptive to "ideology." Hitler, Goebbels *et al.* always appealed to their emotions and to the base instincts inherent in man, never to reason and intellect. The latter were outlawed as un-German, while blind faith and belief in the words of the Führer were praised as basic Germanic virtues. Hitler made use of the lie with amazing virtuosity. He knew how to "make up" the lie, to make it shine and appeal to national arrogance and selfishness. We, of course, cannot and will not combat a lie with a lie; we have to combat it with the truth. But why not give the truth a shining appeal? Facts proving our material superiority do not refute the basic, deep-rooted lies. Our catchwords of freedom must have the same alluring dynamism which Hitler injected into his propaganda of hate.

One approach must be to provide the Germans with what they call *Grundtatsachen* (basic facts, facts within their context, *i. e.*, so-called "facts" of ideological and moral importance)—the question of war guilt par excellence—instead of "news." We have to hammer home the truth that it was Germany which started the war and plunged the whole of humanity into unspeakable misery—the Germans, not the "Jews" or the "Bolsheviks" or the "plutocrats" or the "British imperialists." The Germans no longer know this. Goebbels succeeded in making them forget it because it fitted their "ideology" to forget it; he offered them a pleasant escape from their moral sensibility. They have to be taught that it will be to their advantage to correct the basic lie, that they can expect consideration only if they plead guilty!

There must be no escape for them from learning and accepting the truth as truth. They must be faced continuously with the basic fact of their collective guilt. As Hitler said: "The most brilliant propaganda technique will yield no success unless one fundamental principle is borne in mind constantly and with unflagging attention: it must confine itself to a few points and repeat them over and over. Here, as so often in this world, persistence is the one and most important consideration for success."

We must never forget that our propaganda—or educational effort—is directed toward Germans, not toward Americans. It sometimes seems that the propaganda methods of the OWI are shaped to satisfy American rather than German standards. They often begin with the assumption that what would impress an average American will have the desired effect on a Nazi-educated German. This assumption, of course, is false, and we will achieve no lasting success unless we appeal to the Germans by methods which have been carefully geared to German standards of receptivity. Eventually the Germans must be brought to understand that unembroidered news reports of competent and honest observers mean what they say, and that facts are facts. This, however, will be a result of a long educational process rather than the basis of our educational efforts.

ALFRED KANTOROWICZ

Pattern for Local Unity

THE County of Los Angeles, with its large Mexican population, its 150,000 Negroes—many of them recent migrants from the Deep South—and its growing population of Jews from the Eastern seaboard, plus a large Oriental and Filipino population, is one of the most heterogeneous areas in the United States. These groups are growing larger as West Coast industrialization, heretofore considered a temporary war expedient, gives signs of postwar permanency. As a result, there is a constant fear in Los Angeles of smoldering hatreds' exploding into a serious disturbance, like that of the zoot-suit riots a year ago.

Into this situation, the county's public authorities have introduced intelligent leadership by sponsoring an Institute on Community Relations for its 14,000 officials and employees that may well be a pattern for communities, both large and small, throughout the nation. Held the entire week of March 5, the institute attracted all the county (as differentiated from the City of Los Angeles) workers for one or more of its sessions. In fact, by order of the Board of Supervisors, the county governing body, each department head, division supervisor and every employee was compelled to attend at least one session, and many of them voluntarily attended several or all.

Directing the meetings were the Committee for Interracial Progress, a permanent group appointed by the supervisors several years ago, and the American Council on Race Relations, which sent an able field representative, Davis McEntire, to assist in the preparations. For the county, the program was under the direction of the superintendent of schools, Dr. C. C.

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Trillingham, who on numerous occasions has indicated his devotion to community racial unity. Working under him was Miss Marie Hughes, who specializes in education of minority groups in the county school system.

It is significant that the public officials in so large a governmental subdivision have seen fit to sponsor an institute of this character, with its declared purpose: "Because the county employees are servants of all the people, they have a special responsibility to understand the people and their problems. To help achieve such understanding and improve the efficiency of county employees in dealing with people of different races, creeds and national origins, is the purpose of the institute." But more remarkable is the depth of the program. Although the employees ranged from janitors, through white-collar clerks up to $10,000-a-year executives, the institute was conducted on the assumption that glittering generalities would not interest or affect these workers.

The first session was devoted to a discussion of American principles and minority groups, the application of traditions of individual liberty and equal rights of citizens to racial and intergroup relations, and the practical steps that can be taken to bring American ideals and actual practices closer together in the adjustment of intergroup relations. The speaker was Federal Judge J. F. T. O'Connor, and his talk was followed by a panel discussion, led by a superior-court judge, the sheriff of Los Angeles County (who happens to be of Spanish descent), an eminent progressive educator, the chairman of the Catholic Interracial Commission, the secretary of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Committee and the secretary of the Hollywood Free World Association.

The second day's sessions were devoted to "Science and Race," with discussions of physical characteristics led by Dr. Harry Hoijer, distinguished professor of Anthropology at the University of California; Dr. Theodore Perkins, professor of Psychology at Claremont Colleges, discussed mental characteristics. A panel of educators in these two fields, drafted from local universities, reviewed and held question periods on such topics as: What is a race? How is a race determined? Do the races of mankind vary in inborn capacity? Are there inferior or superior races? What scientific validity is there for "white supremacy"? What are "group stereotypes" and how do they develop? What is the nature of "scapegoating"? What causes it? What can be done about it?

The third day was set aside for the subject, "What It Means to Be a Member of a Minority Group," led by Dr. Franklin Fearing, professor of Psychology at the UCLA, and a panel consisting of a Filipino writer, a Negro author, a Mexican representative on the FEPC and other minority-group representatives. Their discussion of their everyday experiences proved illuminating to those who had never before realized the wounds caused by discrimination and segregation, and led to discussion of the behavior and attitudes that result from such experiences and environments.

The fourth day was devoted to the housing problem in Los Angeles, which is becoming acute. The session was presided over by the executive director of the city housing authority and the executive secretary of the Haynes Foundation. Some of the problems considered were the effect of discriminatory agreements on housing opportunities for minority groups, the implications of the racial pattern of the county, regional planning and urban redevelopment.

The fifth and final day dealt with employment opportunities for minorities in the Los Angeles area. The president of a large war industry presented the viewpoint of business, and the educational director of the CIO, that of labor. They discussed the place of minority groups in the economic structure of the county, changes in the traditional economic status of these groups in wartime, the factors responsible for the change, and problems encountered by members of minority groups in jobs where they have not been employed before.

There seems little doubt that the institute was a success and that it marked a milestone in interracial understanding in Los Angeles. STANLEY MOSK

A Refusal to Mourn the Death, by Fire, of a Child in London

Never until the mankind making
Bird beast and flower
Fathering and all humbling darkness
Tells with silence the last light breaking
And the still hour
Is come of the sea tumbling in harness

And I must enter again the round
Zion of the water bead
And the synagogue of the ear of corn
Shall I let pray the shadow of a sound
Or sow my salt seed
In the least valley of sackcloth to mourn

The majesty and burning of the child's death.
I shall not murder
The mankind of her going with a grave truth
Nor blaspheme down the stations of the breath
With any further
Elegy of innocence and youth.

Deep with the first dead lies London's daughter,
Robed in the long friends,
The grains beyond age, the dark veins of her mother,
Secret by the unmourning water
Of the riding Thames.
After the first death, there is no other.

DYLAN THOMAS

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Washington Notes

Congress and the Postwar Crisis

CONGRESS *is temporarily Washington's forgotten man,* but it is a mistake to forget about it. Sooner or later, everything is going to come right back to Congress, whether it is the San Francisco agreement, postwar jobs or coöperation with President Truman. Indeed, the big issues are pretty much there already. If, for example, Congress doesn't renew and strengthen the reciprocal-trade-agreements program within one month, the whole system collapses. The act expires June 12. A month is a mighty short time to get anything done in Congress. GOP members have consciously been holding back. They are willing to trade their consent to renew the law temporarily, for a year or so, in exchange for an agreement to make no further tariff concessions.

All the big postwar problems of demobilization that have been kicking around Congress for so long now suddenly become urgent with German collapse. After a couple of years' preparation, Congress was going to stage its big surprise act when peace came, but it still isn't ready. The mighty Willow Run bomber plant is closing down, and congressional hearings on the Murray full-employment bill haven't even started. The Willow Run closing is symbolic. This is the huge Ford-operated defense plant which belongs to the taxpayers. It belongs to you and me. There are $10 or $15 billion worth of such plants. Others will start closing down soon. As yet Congress has no idea what to do with them, or with the unemployment their closing will cause.

I find myself always criticizing Congress, and then feeling sorry for doing so. It is our greatest institution in some ways; our chief hope for democracy. Its faults, I think, are largely organizational. Also, congressmen are underpaid. But if the public allows congressmen to raise their pay, it should insist that procedure be modernized. The La Follette-Monroney committee is working on the problem now.

Many people believe that the chronic antagonism between Congress and the White House is personal rather than institutional. They argue that if "somebody else" were in the White House, "he could get along" with Congress. It will be interesting to watch President Truman in this connection. He comes from Congress and is sedulously cultivating Congress. If he can't get along, nobody can. Already he has had to veto the vicious blanket exemption of all farm workers from the draft act, which would have set up a specially favored citizens' group. (Incidentally, this is what you get when all eyes are turned away from Congress.) The House vote to override the Truman veto was 185 to 177, or less than the required two-thirds majority. Democrats voted to sustain Truman, 164 to 30; Republicans to override him, 154 to 12. This is really pretty ominous. Although Truman won, it showed that the GOP is quite ready to knife him and the draft act for political advantage. And although the Democrats kept their party alignment in this first test, it was only under pressure, as a sort of courtesy matter, and with the coalition farm-bloc power undiminished.

Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, sister of Senator Guffey and herself a member of the Democratic National Committee, writes this column that President Truman's indorsement of the so-called Equal Rights Amendment was not due to any "trickily worded" letter, but that he is "thoroughly familiar with the subject, and in hearty accord." His letter indorsing the amendment was written to Mrs. Miller in *April, 1944. A plank indorsing the amendment* was placed in the Democratic platform, Mrs. Miller points out. "As a candidate for Vice President," she adds, "Mr. Truman accepted the platform, and being a man of his word, there need be no fear that he will not stand by his word as well as the platform. In fact, I have every assurance he will."

I thank Mrs. Miller for her courteous letter, which only strengthens my belief that if opponents of this amendment want to stop it, they had better get busy. This amendment theoretically guarantees sex equality under the Constitution. Actually, labor groups declare, it would destroy a century of protective legislation built up for women workers, locally and nationally. It is opposed by the AFL, CIO, League of Women Voters, the various national councils of Catholic, Jewish and Negro women, the national board of the YWCA, the National Farmers' Union and dozens of similar labor, church and farm groups. Mrs. Roosevelt has long opposed it. It is my belief that the "equal-rights" amendment is a phony and a harmful phony, and I trust President Truman will soon find out that it has plenty of opposition.

White House press conferences are exciting. You find yourself in a tremendous mob; you burst into the Oval Study; you are still startled not to see Roosevelt at the old familiar desk. All the sea-pictures are gone, the bookshelves bare, save for two red volumes of the *United States Code*, 1940 edition. Walls are repainted to hide the smudge left behind the absent pictures. The place looks new, bare, uncertain like the new President's own policies. Truman, in a double-breasted plaid suit, with the inevitable World War I bronze discharge button in his lapel, waits smiling. He has close-cut, gray-white hair. The lenses of his glasses are very thick. More and more he looks like the Average Man. He is quick, brisk, animated. He bats the questions back fast, like a good tennis player at the net. Reporters aren't in awe of him as they were of Roosevelt; two or three throw queries simultaneously. In the excitement he moves about behind the desk, gesticulates with his right hand. He is adept, good-tempered, concise. His voice is flat. He calls it the "*SUE*-preme Court."

Notes. – A military guard took over the Japanese embassy when it was found that two attachés of the Spanish embassy, in whose custody the place was left, were trying to jimmy open the safe, with the aid of a locksmith. Spain had severed relations with Japan just two days before. . . . Mr. Truman is taking care of the Democratic National Committee: Chairman Robert E. Hannegan is the new Postmaster General; Treasurer Edward Pauley (who seems to have no other special recommendation) is to be reparations ambassador at Moscow—one of the most important posts imaginable. . . . The big new soldiers'-bonus drive has been launched in Congress—cost $11 billion.

Washington T. R. B.

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International Notes

Germany in Defeat

SOME WEEKS AGO, those who believed in or knew of the existence of an anti-fascist movement in Germany, were glad to hear that the advancing Allied armies here and there had found a few anti-Nazis whose political record was unequivocal. This has now radically changed. Particularly in southern Germany, some of the biggest cities took up the anti-fascist banner of revolt. Stuttgart's municipal administration was taken over before the arrival of Allied troops by a team of pre-Hitler Social Democrats and foreign workers. Augsburg, where in the course of an anti-Nazi revolt several higher Nazis, including the local Gestapo leader, were shot or hanged, was handed over to the Allies by a revolutionary party of civilians.

Munich, the cradle of Nazism, revolted before the Allies entered the city. At least four different underground organizations, Marguerite Higgins reported in the New York *Herald Tribune*, "operated in Munich for days before the Allied arrival, carrying on campaigns of assassination and terror against Nazi leaders. . . . The various groups, as far as could be determined in the first confused days in the city, included Freiheit Aktion Bayern, Bayern Freiheit Bewegung, Bayern Kommittee gegen Faschismus and a Communist group. . . . The underground groups which cropped up at different times knew of one another's existence, but worked separately. The danger of detection was so great that most of the underground did not know their own leaders and co-workers, let alone the members of other committees."

That these revolts did not come earlier can only be ascribed to the incredible terror exercised to the very last by the fanatical core of Nazi SS and Gestapo. Premature uprisings would certainly have been crushed. In Berlin, for instance, a city with a militant and class-conscious working population, it was the physical and propaganda terror apparatus, perfected over 12 years, which successfully prevented the anti-fascist movement, known to exist, from rousing an intimidated civilian people against the Nazi regime. Fear of the Gestapo and of SS reprisals, Victor Bernstein reported in *PM*, precluded the surrender of Halle. The fury and extent of this terror appear in a report from the Netherlands, where 8,000 Dutch SS troops, *i.e.*, non-Germans but thoroughly indoctrinated in the fascist spirit, drove four divisions of unwilling German regulars into battle along the Grebbe Line.

Another factor, equally important in explaining the late appearance of anti-Nazi resistance, is the liquidation or neutralization in concentration camps of the old anti-fascist leadership. Fortunately, not all of the anti-Nazi leaders are dead. In the Buchenwald concentration camp, for example, nearly 2,000 anti-fascist German political prisoners were found. They have, Russell Hill cabled to the *Herald Tribune*, "won the confidence of those of the other nationalities by their consistent anti-Nazi stand. The chairman of the international committee, which includes five Russians, four Poles, three Germans, three Czechs and one member from each of nine other countries, is Walter Bartel, former Berlin Communist who has been in prison since 1936." This committee had been in existence underground before Buchenwald was liberated. Hill saw signs with slogans in German, such as "On the Ruins of Fascism We Will Build a New Free Germany," "Destruction of the Nazis Is Best for a Free Democratic Europe" and "Peace, Freedom, Bread." In Dachau, another correspondent reported, the prisoners prevented a Nazi blood bath by keeping iron discipline under the leadership of Gustav Aberle, a member of the International Brigade during the Spanish civil war, in the face of constant provocation by their guards.

These are only scattered reports, but they are more than symptomatic. Additional information about anti-Nazi Germany will be available when the curtain of censorship is lifted. In all the liberated cities the Allied occupation authorities must find Germans whom they can trust to solve administrative problems. Not to use the anti-fascist veterans of the concentration camps and those who are at large, as well as old anti-fascist political exiles, would be sheer folly.

The Russians recognized the potential usefulness of political refugees and anti-Nazi prisoners of war and set up the Free Germany Committee in Moscow which they are now using to good advantage. On April 17 it was reported that Free German parachutists, in German army uniforms, had been dropped behind the German lines, causing great confusion among the Wehrmacht. Free German officers addressed German troops over big loudspeakers, advising them to capitulate. On April 19 Major Karl Hetz, a vice-chairman of the committee, appealed to German railway workers to paralyze railway service. Two days later another spokesman called on German farmers to plant their crops in order to prevent starvation next winter.

On April 23 it was reported that under the sponsorship of the Moscow committee "special task groups of Free Germans have been organized on both a functional and a geographical basis, and their knowledge of local conditions is of inestimable value to the Russian counterpart of Allied Military Government in the West. Free German task groups consist of officers, clergymen, technicians, propagandists and trained administrators. With these administrative cadres at hand, the Russians are very often able to dispense with services of local Nazi officials."

Another Free German broadcast from Moscow told the Germans that "intellectuals, technicians, teachers and persons who give their services of their own free will to rebuild what has been destroyed through Hitler's war, are doing a national duty. It is therefore of special import for every Christian to know that in the territory of Silesia and Brandenburg occupied by the Red Army, churches were reopened and services are held everywhere without restrictions. All this is more than proof that the Red Army does not come to destroy the German people but to exterminate Hitler and his gang." Another broadcast clarified Russian policy on the treatment to be expected by Nazis: "It is the leaders, the *Reichsgauleiter* and the *Kreisleiter*, the high SS and SA officials, who will be punished." The Nazi rank and file, ordinary SS and SA were assured that they could surrender without fear of punishment if they had "behaved correctly."

E. L. P.

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Rouault

THE PAINTING OF Georges Rouault (1871—), now at the Museum of Modern Art, is as conservative and unfulfilled as it is talented, dead serious and passionate. Rouault's paintings are of clowns, judges, nearly nude prostitutes, Christ, the Crucifixion, landscapes of flat ground, little detail and a horizon around the center of the canvas. Their theme, which is as rigid as their treatment, has to do with an expression of the inadequacy of life. The painting is always done with fierce emotion, contains passages in which there is the most terrifying kind of sensation, and everywhere else the work of an enormously experienced, clever artist. The statements are often rockbound, always forceful, and easily recognized as Rouault's. Rouault, though, has never taken his exorbitant talent, erudition and ferocity more than a half-hearted step away from conventional painting; he has stuck rigidly to an art-school kind of undistinguished, uncomplicated, limited design; he is content with easy, commonplace, ambiguous solutions in place of following out his art to its most inspired, complex, difficult point.

The paintings are firmly grounded in an old, naturalistic mode of painting to which he contributes nothing original and in which he convinces me further that the old masters left nothing unsaid or unsolved in the style. The closest Rouault comes to putting a personal, new note in their design is in the thoroughly limited abstract designing he does with the heavy black drawing lines that section his painting. In "The Wounded Clown" the mass of three figures is broken up half-realistically into a series of small, elongated slabs of light and dark, which are woven into a nervous, intense rhythm. But through most of this canvas, and more so through others, the line, which is seemingly distorted, is used only in the conventional, illustrative way and forms a design that is in no sense new or Rouault's. His paintings employ the oldest of compositions, and the lack of personal idiosyncrasy in reworking the form indicates as great a want of imagination as I know of in notable painting. The composition is one where the main figure is placed in the center of the canvas with each element balanced by a similar color and shape at a point level to it on the opposite side. Superficial attempts are made to treat the painting in a flat abstract sense: the scenes are pressed up a little closer than usual to the surface; the people are slightly flattened; and the color in about a third of the canvas is moved dynamically in the manner of Cezanne toward the picture edge. Essentially though, the surface is considered as a window, the subject matter is painted in the most conventional, three-dimensional, realistic way and isn't seriously influenced by the picture edge, and the Cezanne treatment of the color is superfluous. Rouault's color is a tonal one, from the old masters, of red and blue or green, and makes no basic use of any innovations from the Impressionists onward.

The dominating factor in this work is its black lines that cement the paintings as much as anything into their rigid, unfulfilled forms. The lines are dramatic enough and so anti-color that they half-veil the boring repetitiousness of the other color, lift it a degree out of its pedestrian quality and make it more forceful simply by the extremeness of the contrast. But the color design is of a kind in which one color block is stereotyped by others of the same tone and texture. The glow that is so often spoken of in these paintings is a property of individual areas, where the color is of an illuminated intensity to start with, but seldom of the painting as a whole. An exception is a small, very moving landscape called "Afterglow, Galilee," which has few lines or sections and is practically one chunk of glowing, coppery pink color. The paintings seldom seem to me to be carried to a point where background and figure, canvas and painting, or any two neighboring areas are related into a living, self-sufficient form; designs that would probably be swimming are locked almost automatically by the black lines.

Though the paintings get tied down within the canvas space, it is in the static, monosyllabic manner of "The Old King"—without buoyancy between areas and airless and dull-voiced within them. The one answer Rouault seems to have for any problem is a black line and an intensification of the color next to it. The composition is never recast to accommodate a change, so that throughout his work there are makeshift adjustments, not answered at any other point in the picture. Rouault's great limitation and lack of daring as a designer are illustrated in "The Wounded Clown," in which there seems every need, and every inability, to distort the realistic scene in order to bring sky and figures into a larger, clearer unity. Rouault occasionally leaves his bisymmetrical design, as in "Clownerie," or makes it more complicated, as in "Crucifixion"; at such times he seems to turn out his worst jumbles and half-cooked affairs. They contain a thousand finicky color breaks related closely but imperfectly, a dominating color that has the luminosity of cream, and a statement developed no further than that of a sketch.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

A spokesman for the War Crimes Commission said it needed evidence to back charges against Germans responsible for the prison-camp conditions, and he noted that witnesses were dying daily. – *UP dispatch from London.*

The [Tenant Relocation] Bureau has a vacancy list of about 7,000 apartments, and although many of these lack modern facilities, some tenants prefer the cheaper places because they will seem like the "home" to which they have become attached. – *From the New York* Times.

Legislative leaders are pretty much of the opinion now the best way out of the dilemma of Negro voting is to do nothing. . . . Laws could be enacted to harass and hinder the Negro, legislators agree, but ultimately he would be voting and the fight meanwhile would make him ballot-conscious. – *From the Miami* Daily News.

Because he protested when Deputy Sheriff Y. J. (Dusty) Rodes censured him for shaking hands with a Negro for whom he testified yesterday morning in justice-of-peace court, 70-year-old Ed H. Thrapp, local milk-company worker, was haled into court himself and given a three-month suspended jail sentence. The charge was assault. – *From the St. Petersburg (Fla.)* Times.

Realpolitik

He [captured German General Helmut Thumm] upheld the "right of Germany to defend her borders," but said that the

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attack on Russia was "wrong" for two reasons: it was a breach of faith and Russia was far too strong. – *From the New York* Times.

Total-Peace Department

Please do not collect our gas masks as suggested in a reader's letter. I am one of many who cannot, under any conditions, peel and prepare onions. Thanks to my gas mask I can now enjoy them. – *Letter in the London* Daily Express.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Anti-Nazis May Be Fascists

SIR: In your issue of April 16, one of the editorials states: "AMG officials are relying more and more on the help they can get from former members of the Social Democratic, Communist and Catholic Center Parties. . . . It should be quite obvious that it is to our advantage to widen the already existing wedge between Nazis and anti-Nazi Germans by supporting the latter. In the long run a Nazi revival can be avoided only if we have friends among the Germans whom we can trust, and who are as interested in exterminating Nazism as we are."

This statement seems to assume that all anti-Nazi Germans are *ipso facto* anti-fascists. My own knowledge of the political situation in Germany is slight, but I recently talked with a friend who had just returned from Aachen, where he was a free-lance political reporter for the Psychological Warfare Division. According to him, a considerable number of those who oppose the Nazi Party are nevertheless fascists in their political outlook. That is to say, while they reject the particular form of fascism realized under Hitler, they are equally averse to democratic and leftist movements. This is particularly true in that section of Germany for which the United States will be directly responsible, because in that area the Catholic Church is in control.

The great danger is that American officials in Germany will kowtow too much to the Catholic bishops, most of whom are strongly anti-Nazi but also strongly anti-leftist. This hazard is increased by the fact that significant influence is exerted over United States policy by the Catholic Church in this country. The *New Republic* should make clear to its readers the important distinction between democratic and reactionary opponents of Nazism; else we run the danger of jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

Chicago, Ill. VALERIE C. SAIVING

Britain and the United States

SIR: In this critical period, one outstanding task confronts those desiring to see the cause of humanity advanced: namely, to remove any possible peg upon which Congress may attempt to hang an argument to the effect that latent animosity exists between the respective members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States, leading them to plot our economic ruin, etc.

Having observed the instant and spontaneous reaction on the part of the citizens of this dominion to the tragic loss suffered in the taking away of our leader, Mr. Roosevelt, I can bear witness to the genuineness of its warmth, which bespeaks a realization on the part of Canadians generally of the absolute identity of interest affecting themselves and Americans, with respect to any basic matter of policy which may arise.

Moreover, as successive articles appearing in your magazine have emphasized, all plans for postwar rehabilitation promulgated by Britain and her dominions are based on the continuance of a state of prosperity for the United States. Is it conceivable, therefore, that any deviation from this principle would be for an instant tolerated in the seats of government of the respective political groups?

Considerations such as the foregoing should be hammered home, it seems to me, in editorials, and by personal appeal, all aimed at overcoming any tendency by Congress to raise the bogey of Britain's desire to injure the United States.

WILLIAM B. GLOVER

Bridgenorth, Ont.

Salaries of Public Servants

SIR: Regarding the editorial, "Salaries of Congressmen," in the *New Republic* of April 30, may I remind you that the $10,000 a year which congressmen receive is for that part of their time which is devoted to their duties when Congress is in session. The congressmen from New York enjoy lucrative law practices and the prestige of their official positions adds considerably to their take. On the other hand, the officials whom you name [such as New York County Court Judges] devote *all* their time to their duties, and therefore it does not seem quite fair to make a comparison between the salaries received by the two groups.

Now, if you would give a plug to salary increases for *all* civil-service employees, who are appointed as a result of sharp competitive examinations and whose salaries are far below those paid in industry, you might be extending a helping hand in the right direction.

New York City LOUIS R. ZIMMERMAN

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, North Carolina, announces its second annual Music Institute and Art Institute, to be held in connection with its coming summer session, from July 2 to September 8. A distinguished staff, including the Gordon Quartet, Roland Hayes, Dr. Alfred Einstein and Carol Brice for the Music Institute, and Dr. Walter Gropius, Lyonel Feininger, Ossip Zadkine and Paul Rand for the Art Institute, will participate in the program, which is open not only to artists and musicians, but to teachers, scholars, critics and amateurs in these fields.

A National Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Services was formed at a recent meeting of representatives of 25 national organizations with various racial and religious affiliations. Conceived as a permanent body to unite the work of existing organizations and to solicit the support of new groups in the fight against segregation in the services, the committee has the support of, among others, A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL; Willard S. Townsend, president, United Transport Service Employees, CIO; Morris Milgrim, national secretary, Workers' Defense League; and Wilfred Kerr, chairman, Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces. Committee headquarters are at 101 West Forty-sixth Street, New York City 19.

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Books in Review

The Army Week by Week

A NATION which opened its heart so completely to the late Ernie Pyle must have a reserved place on its bookshelves for *The Best from* Yank.[1] Ernie Pyle, as war correspondent, was the articulate civilian voice of the 11 million—America's fighting men on land, sea and in the air—was the Boswell to a great, complex, many-sided Johnson. Ernie, with whom this writer served in North Africa, Sicily and Italy, remained to the end slightly more than amazed that his simple narration of the day-to-day life of the American soldier, sailor or airman—in battle and out—could be the cause of so much excitement at home.

No one would gainsay that Ernie Pyle filled the void for millions of mothers, fathers, wives and sweethearts, because, unlike the rest of us correspondents, he dealt not with divisions but with men, not with high strategy or tactics, but with restless sleep and hungry bellies, and full bellies, and fear, and wet feet, and the shock of death, and the casual courage that overrode it, and the humor and the language —all that spelled out the life, the thoughts, the dreams of the 11 million. What they could not or would not put in their letters home, he said for them. For the American fighting man will not open his heart freely to strangers, and, whether we like it or not, those who have not shared his fears and the immediacy of death are in a sense strangers, though they be of the same flesh and blood.

This compilation from *Yank, the Army Weekly*, also bridges the gulf. For in it, GI talks to GI, and through the medium of able enlisted-men reporters there is set down the day and the long, long night of combat of our fighting men. As the editors of *Yank* note in a brief but stoutly phrased foreword, "Most *Yank* writers make little attempt to comment or editorialize in any way; they are simply representative soldiers trying to portray honestly and effectively the strange, uncertain, frequently dangerous world in which they live." It's worth noting here that among *Yank's* correspondents are men who brought training and skill in the journalistic profession to the army from civilian life, but there are also many who had had no previous experience in journalism and simply wrote of what they saw and heard and felt. The editors voice the fear that these stories, written by and for enlisted men, might be too full of soldier shoptalk, "may sound at times unintelligible, since they are filled with trade terms and special within-the-family humor whose full significance will be lost to an outsider." Methinks they have drawn the line between civilian and soldier too solidly. Countless legions of fledgling warriors on the home front have instructed numberless families in the vocabulary of war. I'm sure no self-respecting father of a budding military genius would dare admit to not knowing that a BAR is a Browning Automatic Rifle. And, after all, our army is a citizen army and its "trade terms and special within-the-family humor" are the end product of long civilian years and comparatively few years of military life. The "American civilian" is usually "American civilian," no matter what he happens to be wearing or where he is. He thinks and writes and reacts to any stimuli—fact, fiction, humor or what-have-you—on the basis of what he considers his permanent status—civilian. Fact, fiction, cartoon or photograph meant for and written by the American fighting man must and does have the flavor of his permanent status, and cannot in any noticeable degree be incomprehensible to the civilian world of family and friends.

The major divisions of the content of *The Best from* Yank are "War Reports or Facts"; "Fiction and Humor"; "Cartoons"; and "Photographs." Let's take a look at them. The "War Reports" are not technical treatises. Patrol action, battles on land, sea and in the air, life on remote bases, impressions of allies and enemies, are written in warm, simple language—the style is fundamentally that of the news pages and feature sections of the Sunday paper at home. I could, here, pick out one or two specific "War Reports" and give special praise, but why should I? You will have your own favorites, probably reflecting the branch of service and location of those dear to you in the armed forces. All the "War Reports" are excellent. The "Fiction and Humor" section will please mightily or leave you cold —pretty much according to your taste in these fields. But let it suffice that among the writers of fiction is one William Saroyan, and amid the humor, which ranges from the very subtle to outrageous corn, there is "The Sad Sack," already the mainstay of the comic strips in many American newspapers.

The "Cartoons," which are scattered through the book, are wonderful. In almost every case, their point would be just as clear and their humor just as valid if the characters were taken out of khaki and put into civilian clothes. For instance, two GI's lying in the brush with camouflage shrubbery entwined in netting over their helmets could be transferred to Main Street, dressed in the season's finery on any Easter Sunday, and the caption, "And just who the hell are you supposed to be—Lily Dash-ay?" would be just as funny.

The section of "Photographs" is a substantial start toward a pictorial history of World War II. What little critical faculty I possess in this art tells me that there is much that is enduring in the 56 photographs which the editors have chosen from the hundreds available. For this writer they have done a great service. Shots of North Africa, Sicily and Italy have brought back into sharp focus memories of the Mediterranean campaigns. I am sure that when American fighting men come home, these photographs will do as much for them. There are also "Poems" (for the most part, I'm afraid, bad ones, technically speaking, but some men would rather write bad poetry than good prose, and you can usually figure out what they're getting at). There is also a "What's Your Problem?" Department (it doesn't seem possible that grown men can find so many ways to get into trouble), and "Mail Call." "Mail Call" is, of course, a

[1] The Best from *Yank*. Selected by the editors of *Yank, the Army Weekly*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 255 pages. $3.50.

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collection of letters to *Yank* from servicemen. It's a pity there wasn't room for more of them. As one of the correspondents notes, letters to "Mail Call" tell all the world how America's fighting men feel, and he adds, "when the war is through the people will know what your thoughts are, and base their arguments on them instead of trying to figure out what they think your thoughts are."

Honest men and demagogues alike are busy nowadays telling us exhaustively what the American fighting man feels, thinks, dreams of, and what kind of world he wants in the future. Honest men will want to read *The Best from* Yank because the reading will help them blueprint the kind of future our men have been fighting for. Demagogues won't want to read it: they have no traffic with truth or reality. You had better read it so that you will know your fighting man better, and, knowing the life that has shaped him these past three and a half years, and his reaction to it, be able to form your own opinion of what he has been fighting for and what kind of world he wants. It's insurance against the demagogues—and, more important, will prepare you to join the returned veteran in the all-important battle to win the peace.

JOHN DALY

Racket or Tragedy

Pipe Night, by John O'Hara. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 205 pages. $2.50.
Fireman Flower and Other Stories, by William Sansom. New York: The Vanguard Press. 236 pages. $2.50.

PIPE NIGHT is so much a book of the times that it is at least fifty years out of date. O'Hara tries to catch the mood and character of everything—as Wolcott Gibbs says in his preface to the book—that is "bounded on the east by Fifty-second Street and on the west by Hollywood Boulevard." And so he takes short runs on buses and trains, picking up servicemen and civilians, men and women who frequent gin mills and night clubs and fall in love and get married and divorced and lead stodgy and respectable or colorful and disreputable lives, in the course of which, whether it be trying to sell a set of golf clubs or sleeping with the latest lame-brained movie actress, they give themselves away to the observant eye and the sensitive ear. But there is nothing new, unique or particularly revealing in O'Hara's insight, for all the importance he attaches to what he sees, hears and understands; nothing that does not go back at least to the reporter's sketch-pad of the twenties, if not straight to O. Henry.

These thirty-one short stories are derived from a journalistic tradition of popular culture—the "human-interest angle" that helped build up the circulation of the metropolitan dailies. "Human interest" is ostensibly devoted to combating the anonymity and insignificance of life in the present-day world. It holds that there lives nowhere an average citizen with life so dull that some moment of it is not worth knowing. The whole technique is to reveal this moment—with as great an economy of time and detail as drama or plot will allow. As a result of which the insignificant citizen is left no richer, no better named, than he was before; on the contrary he has been drained of the minor importance that life has let run his way. Not he, but the

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city, the composite anonymity, is the real hero; and the short-short story, which sets out to censure the world's heartlessness, ends by flattering and affirming it.

It seems to me that O'Hara is doing precisely this sort of thing. Society is given; his object is to see how the man in the street or the bar, who need no longer be a "real" character, makes out in a typical social encounter. The method followed is the same: there is a dramatic moment in which something happens—the eye can catch it like a camera—and in this moment all significant details of character are revealed. And of course the moment, thus captured, constitutes a story; all the necessary attitudes, the tensions that go on in society and enter into particular situations, are already known; they are furnished by the times.

From which it follows that such writing is essentially conservative. It hoards the legacy of its own and preceding generations, making only such adjustments as popular culture itself may demand. It does nothing on its own, never analyzes, never ventures an evaluation of the times. The social criticism that does enter into O'Hara's stories, as when, for example, he lets the irony of a solecism or a misquotation stand as an indictment of a philistine, is sheer class mentality—the sophisticate's sense of security within his own milieu—and Sinclair Lewis all over again.

Toughness and sentimentality go together in these stories, for a very good reason. While the style is presumably keyed to fast life, ruthlessness and the hard-boiled truth, and the writer's basic assumption would appear to be that men are nasty, selfish and unsparing, the tradition demands pathos, the contrary touch of deep-down softness or indecision. But the tradition is ruined by what it demands, and is doomed to moderateness. And thus the outstanding impression you are likely to get from these stories, if it is not their monotonous resemblance to one another, is the moderateness of every point they try to make. Men are, after all, only moderately nasty, moderately selfish, etc.; stronger emotions, more meaningful situations, cannot be shown on a moment's notice or glimpsed in a moment's time. O'Hara, very careful to avoid extremes that might break up his narrative pattern, sticks to popular culture and its provincial sophistication, as modern and mediocre as the latest song and as little related to the real culture of our times.

It is as unfair as it is instructive to strike a contrast between O'Hara's book and the short stories in *Fireman Flower*, by William Sansom, an English writer. No contrast could be so great, or so unfavorable to the former, and it should be discounted somewhat by acknowledging an inherent difference in genre. But the point of genuine contact between these two widely different methods of story-telling lies precisely in the relationship of the writer to his culture. Sansom's stories are not particularly of the present, being located, for the most part, in unspecified time and space. But they constitute a fuller and more relevant commentary on our times than anything that has recently been done, or remains to be done, in the behavioristic tradition. Sansom is quite openly a Kafkaist, to the extent, not that it matters, of imitation. What is important with Sansom is that he has found through his study of Kafka a method of controlling his sensibility so as to present his private symbolism in the widest possible frame of reference that he knows how to construct.

It is in itself exciting to find a writer who can be excited by general problems. Unrestrained by the niceties of repression that pass for objectivity he can set down a moral proposition as it does in fact occur to the human mind, and by allowing himself intelligent expression—the place of "ideas" in fiction is a problem that a writer who does have a few can well afford to ignore—he manages to say a good deal directly, and to create a drama of implication much more moving, to my taste, than the tensions of literal strain and stress. A recurrent theme in *Fireman Flower*, for example, is that hope is the ultimate enemy of human purpose. Thus, in one story, four groups of prisoners are sentenced to wring a long wet sheet bone dry. The work is arduous; the prisoners' own sweat, dripping onto the sheet, nullifies their labor. Three of the groups fail; the fourth succeeds because its members have kept in mind the true purpose of their otherwise meaningless work, which is to restore their freedom. And when they have wrung the last drop of moisture out of their section of the sheet and apply to the jailers for their release, the authorities turn a hose, full force, onto the sheet, and declare, while locking them in, that purpose is everything and that in keeping alive the hope of their freedom they have already obtained it.

This may be another way of saying that you can't win. But the difference between saying it O'Hara's way and saying it Sansom's way is the difference between calling life a racket and a tragedy. ISAAC ROSENFELD

Anomalous Exile

Robinson Crusoe, USN, as told to Blake Clark. New York: Whittlesey House. 267 pages. $2.75.

GEORGE RAY TWEED, a Navy radio man, made a break for the bush when the Japs came in on Guam in December, 1941; nearly two and a half years later, he was taken off from his cave near Point Haputo by an American destroyer, just before the Marines and Seabees and the Army's 77th Division ground northward up the island against the heavy resistance of the *lemonchina* thorns and some 25,000 Japs. What happened to Tweed in between promised to stack up with the half-dozen best personal-experience stories of the war. As Blake Clark tells it, from Tweed's own recital, in *Robinson Crusoe, USN*, it doesn't come very close. The reasons are varied, and some of the questions they raise may be a lot more meaningful than the book itself.

As human experience, most of the quickie war books are simply not realized. They just don't get the required seasoning in the imagination, the shakedown into some kind of endogenous order and the firm pressure of respectable writing. It's no good to shrug them off as corn journalism batted out neck-and-neck with the teletype. This stuff is vital experience that isn't being transmitted—or worse yet, that gets served up as red-flannel hash. I don't mean to suggest that Clark's narrative is a horrible example of the type. It isn't. It's readable enough, and it has a sort of pleasant, warm, boys'-book tone, if you can shut your mind to the torture of the Americans and those damn fine people, the Chamorros, who hadn't seen any war since the seventeenth century. The author has taken great pains to work up the feel of the *jalum tano*, the way of life on Guam, and the exact scenery of Tweed's various hideouts and escapes.

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He gives us a coherent character for the hunted American who was lucky and shrewd enough to keep out from under the Japs, and handy enough to make himself fairly comfortable while he sweated it out.

The picture in depth looks a little different. As Clark presents him, Tweed is an old Navy man more remarkable for manual ingenuity than for his initiative or imagination. When one of the Chamorros told him that they were organizing to wipe out the small Jap garrison left on the island at that time, Tweed advised against it. The advice was sound as given, but with it went the chance for an American-led guerrilla movement on Guam. You can't help thinking of what Richardson, Long, Dyess, Fertig and the other American guerrillas got done in the Philippines. Guam, of course, was a much tougher case—a relatively small island where the Japs had everyone ticketed.

Even so, the Chamorros, and some of the local Japanese and Japanese-Chamorros who wanted no part of the invaders, gladly supplied the Americans with food, shelter, guns, radios and even an occasional fifth of Canadian Club. The Japs tortured these sensitive, gentle people for information; in nearly every case they got none. Clark's book makes this clear, but it also suggests that some of the Americans who were caught and killed were betrayed by Chamorros who could not hold out against torture or the threat of it.

This may be true. I don't know. But I spent most of October, 1944, in the vicinity of Apra Harbor, Guam, where scuttlebutt is a major industry, and heard nothing about such betrayals, though I did collect a good deal of Tweed's story, both fact and legend. Most of my information came from the Marines. Marines vary, of course, but the representative Marine enlisted men, doing business in their old location, the Pacific Ocean, are a wonder to God. They are, for the most part, skinny kids who have developed the operational sharpness of a New York sparrow. They're convinced, to a man, that they belong to the best fighting corps in the world; some of them also told me, in effect, that they operate under an undemocratic discrimination that combines the more stringent practices of the former French Foreign Legion and a Dickensian school for incorrigible boys. They believed that this was a matter of over-all policy rather than the vagaries of individual commanders; and some of their associates in the Seabees and the Army pretty much agreed with this estimate.

Several of my Marine friends on Guam were all but adopted sons to the Chamorro families. One Marine informant told me that he had asked a close Chamorro friend about Tweed and been met with delicately evasive answers. When he pressed the question, the Chamorro intimated that there were darker aspects to the story, which did not, however, reflect on Tweed's resolution or loyalty. "Then why did you help him?" the Marine asked. The Chamorro said: "We would have helped him even if we hated him, even if we were killed for it." "Why?" "Because he was an American," the Chamorro said.

Clark's book doesn't mention another point the Marines stressed: that the Chamorros had a rather loosely organized but fervent guerrilla movement about ready to strike when the American landings came, and that these guerrillas gave some help in securing the island. The book also quotes Tweed as saying that Navy medical men had "practically wiped out dysentery and other [sic] tropical diseases" before

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the war. Laura Thompson's authoritative *Guam and Its People* gives a fairer estimate of the good medical record at that time. Naturally, she could take no account of the grim picture of native health uncovered after the island was retaken. Most of this was a legacy from the Japs, but a callously inept handling of the Chamorros by the Navy's Island Command apparently aggravated the problem. Only a devoted native physician, a tiny, almost empty-handed but determined Civil Affairs unit and a few service medics straight out of De Kruif tried like hell to take care of things. Apologists will tell you that there's a war on, that the Navy is doing a tremendous construction job on Guam, and that shipping was, and is, tight. All that's true. It's also true that there's a peace coming up, and that American intentions all over the Western Pacific will be judged in the light of a few examples, Guam perhaps chief among them. These points have a bearing on Miss Thompson's sharply reasoned argument, in the April, 1945, issue of *Asia and the Americas*, for a civil administration of the Pacific base islands. It makes red-hot good sense.

VINCENT MC HUGH

A Scientific View of Race

The Science of Man in the World Crisis. Edited by Ralph Linton. New York: The Columbia University Press. 532 pages. $4.

THE EDITOR of this interesting book, a well known professor of anthropology at Columbia University, regrets that during the last hundred years the tendency has been for each science to hold the others at a safe distance and to learn more and more about less and less. His reflection reminds us of one of Pascal's *pensées*: "It is better to know something about everything than to know everything about one thing." Without referring himself to Pascal, Professor Linton adopted this idea in editing the book on the science of man in the world crisis. Realizing that no one scientist can possibly acquaint himself with the whole range of scientific knowledge as it exists today, he offers him a book in which he can find the conclusions which have been arrived at in several sciences other than his own. Most of these conclusions are relatively simple and the time would seem to be ripe for a new synthesis of science, especially of those sciences which deal with human beings and their problems in the present world crisis.

In attempting such a synthesis Linton was helped by some of the most eminent American anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists: Wilton Marion Krogman, H. L. Shapiro, Clyde Kluckhohn, William H. Kelly, Otto Klineberg, George Peter Murdock, Abram Kardiner, Howard A. Meyerhoff, Julian H. Steward and Carl C. Taylor, among others.

Their scientific harvest is so rich that we can gather here only a few grains:

The two great divisions of anthropology which deal respectively with man and with his works are known as physical anthropology and cultural anthropology. Separated for a long time, these two sciences are now beginning to be drawn together again as we become increasingly conscious of the influence of certain physiological factors upon culture, and vice versa.

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Physical anthropology has split into human paleontology and somatology; cultural anthropology into archeology, ethnology and linguistics. The general characteristics of our species as vertebrates and mammals are well taken care of by such general sciences as anatomy and physiology. The somatologists have, therefore, concentrated upon the study of human varieties, especially those called races. The classifications which they had developed until very recent times still depend upon superficial characteristics such as skin color and hair form. In recent years attention has been turned to less obvious but intrinsically more important differences such as blood types, differences in musculature and so on.

One of the contributors—Dr. Wilton Marion Krogman—comes to the conclusion that the inheritance of blood groups cuts straight across all stocks, all races; that is, all blood groups are found in all people, though in varying percentage combinations. The racists will also be disappointed to hear that Gobineau's theory that race mixture leads to deterioration has been refuted. Fisher's study of the Rehobother Bastards, a cross between South African Boers and Hottentots, disclosed evidence of a hybrid vigor which in fertility surpassed the performances of either Boers or Hottentots. Shapiro's study of the Polynesian-English descendants of the mutineers of the Bounty found in the early generations a marked superiority over parental stocks not only in physical size but also in the birth rate.

On the other hand Boas' studies on the changing bodily form of the descendants of immigrants to the United States is another shock for those who consider races as immutable entities. Ashley Montagu says that races merely represent different kinds of temporary mixtures of genetic materials common to all mankind. This book shows that the distinction of races which played such an unfortunate part in the present world crisis does not involve any hierarchy. It pleads for biological equality. ALFRED STERN

A Reader's List

THE ECONOMICS OF PEACE, by Kenneth E. Boulding (Prentice-Hall, $3.75). This book is an intelligent and well rounded treatment of the fundamental principles of peace-time reconstruction. The rebuilding program, Professor Boulding says, is essentially a matter of renewing the process of capital accumulation. This may require the stimulus of a moderately increasing level of prices, yet the major recommendations are a sense of frugality and a competitive spirit that will find fruitful expression in an increasingly federalized world. Only thus, the author says, will the material foundations of economic progress be assured. Though stressing the need for greater productivity, Professor Boulding does not overlook our failure to obtain a better distribution of the economic surplus. Control of monopoly and social security are important weapons here. Full employment, of course, is a primary condition for peace. Professor Boulding accepts taxation as a social instrument; he urges the adoption of a flexible budget as well as a rather original and interesting adjustable tax scheme. Fiscal policy, however, is but one of several tools for attaining a balanced postwar economy.

ALADDIN'S LAMP: THE WEALTH OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, by Gorham Munson (Creative Age, $3.75). Mr. Munson is an able propagandist for the Douglas doctrine of social credit. Financial control, he says, is the essence of economic control, and the debt-laden credit-money manufactured by a banker's signature is the device

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employed to exercise that control. The first part of the volume is a vigorous interpretation of American financial history in which the dominant theme is the bitter rivalry between neo-Hamiltonian money centralists and Jeffersonian debt-diffusionists. Mr. Munson's historiography, admittedly derived from Brooks Adams, leads him to attack full-employment proposals as essentially misleading. The problem today rather is to achieve full distribution, he says. Economic failure in the past was caused by a constant deficiency of purchasing power and this can be corrected only by issuing debt-free social credit. There is some merit to this argument, but it is simply not true that the production problem is solved forever; one has but to examine living standards in Asia to realize that poverty is still with us. And the economics of social credit seems unnecessarily beclouded by a vague kind of transcendental politics. Mr. Munson's book, nevertheless, is one to make you think.

THE GHOSTLY LOVER, by Elizabeth Hardwick (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50). Free from the clichés that usually accompany the problem of a daughter whose family is a block to the fulfilment of her own identity, Miss Hardwick's first novel deals chiefly with the mystery of human relationships made intricate by a tragic reticence that prevents communication. There is a brilliant blending of content and presentation. Horror subtly surrounds the people of an atypical Southern family, and the frustration that is built up is not altogether relieved at the end. The greatest flaw is that the daughter's recognition of the futility of her emotions is brought about by time and an acoustic accident rather than an intellectual insight. The stripped style, placing the emphasis on the emotional by putting it in a bas-relief of external description, is a technique that can give depth to lives and distinction to novels that do not grapple with explicitly passionate or "important" subject matter.

Contributors

JAMES MORGAN READ, who was associate professor of History and chairman of the Social Sciences Division at the University of Louisville, is now connected with Civilian Public Service and is working on a book, *Brandeis and Zionism*.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL R. A. KOCHER was a practising physician in Carmel, California, and formerly an instructor in research medicine at the University of California. He is overseas with the Medical Corps.

JUDGE STANLEY MOSK served as executive secretary to former Governor of California, Culbert Olson, and as a former Regent of the University of California. He is the youngest jurist on the Superior Bench in that state and is the author of numerous magazine articles. He is now serving in the armed forces.

DYLAN THOMAS is a young Welsh poet whose most recent book was published last year by New Directions.

ALFRED KANTOROWICZ is the former Paris correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung*. He is founder and director of the Library of the Burned Books in Paris and acting assistant director of CBS short-wave listening station.

JOHN DALY covered the African campaign for the Columbia Broadcasting System, and then landed with the first Allied troops in Sicily. Later he reported the Italian campaign and the fighting on Anzio beachhead. He is now heard as editor of Columbia network's "The World Today" news program.

VINCENT MCHUGH recently returned from a long trip to the South Pacific as a correspondent for a government agency.

ALFRED STERN, professor of philosophy, taught at the universities of Paris, Brussels and Mexico and is now teaching at the French University of New York. He is the author of books and essays on the philosophy of knowledge, value and politics.

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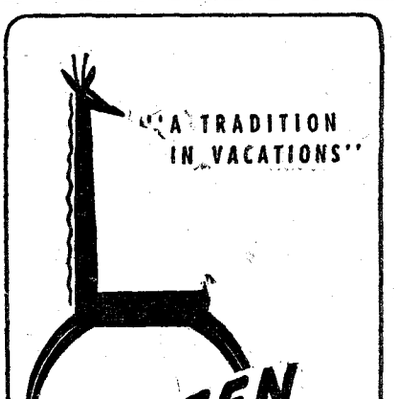

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